



वासकसप्त

EXPECTANCY.

By courtesy of the Artist Mr. Babbanji.

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THE CONQUEROR

From triumph to triumph they drove their chariot over the earth's torn breast.
 Round them Time's footsteps were muffled and slow,
 and bird's songs lay gathered in the bosom of night.
 Drunken of red fire their torch spread its glare,
 like an arrogant lotus floating upon the blue,
 with stars above as bees enchanted.
 They boasted that the undying lights of the sky fed the flame they carried,
 till it conquered the night,
 / and won homage from the sullen silence of the dark.

The bell sounds.

They start up to find they had slept dreaming of wealth
 and pollution of power and the pillage of God's own temple.

The sun of the new day shines upon the night's surrender of love.

The torch lies shrouded in its ashes, and the sky sings with the rejoicing :

"Victory to Earth ! Victory to Heaven !

"Victory to All-conquering Light !"

RABINDRANATH TAGORE.

INDIAN LABOUR IN FIJI

HEALTH CONDITIONS.

ON March 12th 1917 the Viceroy of India announced in Delhi, by means of an Order in Council, that all recruiting for indentured labour in India had been suspended for the period of the war. On the 27th of March, in his reply to the women of India, he went further, and declared that he could not himself regard it as conceivable that recruiting should be resumed after the war. Last of all, on May 25, 1917, the Viceroy was able to take the final step and proclaim publicly, that the indenture system of Indian labour had been finally abolished.

The present enquiry starts with the recognition of this accomplished fact. Its

primary object will be, not to reconsider the evils of the old system, but to find out by what means the past mistakes and failures can be remedied, now that indenture has been brought to an end.

Sixty thousand Indians are settled in Fiji, at the present time, who will very rapidly become the prevailing population of the Islands. Some of the questions which have to be faced are as follows :— How are these people of a foreign race and climate to become acclimatised ? How is their social system, which has broken down, to be built up again ? What kind of education will be most suitable for their children ? How can all that is best in

their religious culture be preserved? In what way will they develop into a community of free and intelligent citizens?

Side by side with this main enquiry, the ultimate issue will often have to be faced, as to whether any further immigration under new conditions of labour should be contemplated, or whether, on the contrary, all future emigration from India to Fiji should be discouraged.



A Fijian.



Fijian Princess.

I would state, at the outset, how very greatly I have missed, at every turn, the help and companionship of Mr. W. W. Pearson, who was with me on two previous visits to the Tropics in connexion with Indian labour. The present Report must necessarily exhibit the weakness of a single individual opinion. This time, I have not been able to verify my own conclusions by submitting them to the continual corrective judgment of an independent witness.

More and more it has been borne in upon me by what I have seen, that Fiji, as far as the conditions provided by nature are concerned, is a good place for Indians to live in. Those who have settled there have told me again and again what a splendid climate it is.

It is surprising to see the change which has come over the physical growth of the people in a place like Nadi, on the north of the main island,—the breadth of shoulder

in the growing lads and their increased stature. The burden of malaria, which has pressed so heavily on the villagers of Northern India, is entirely relieved. I have looked through many hundreds of pages of hospital registers in Fiji, yet I can hardly remember having seen a single 'malaria' entry. The hospital assistants have told me, that the indentured Indians, when they first reach the plantations, come in now and then with a slight touch of fever; but a day's rest clears it away,

and there are no distressing symptoms. Those who have been previously malaria-ridden in India soon shake off every lingering taint of the disease. A further sign of good health, due to freedom from malaria, is the finely proportioned physique of the little Indian children as they run about naked. The swollen stomach caused by enlarged spleen and the spindle-shaped lower limbs are noticeable only by their absence. The children's bodies (with certain very marked exceptions, which will be mentioned later,) have a chance of healthy development from the start. Both

girls and boys seem to be taller than children of their own age in India. Europeans notice how handsome the Indian children are.

The Fiji climate appears to improve the health of the Tamils as much as that of the Hindustanis,—though here I have not the same opportunity of judging from my own experience; for I have never lived in the Tamil villages of Southern India. But I feel certain that any one coming from the Madras Presidency to Buniasi, in Fiji, (where nearly a thousand Tamils have settled with Kutigawindan as their leader) would be struck by the health and prosperity on every side.

Another important factor, due to a peculiarly favourable climate, is the ease and security with which cows can be kept by Indians in Fiji. Grazing land is plentiful, and almost every Indian family has its own milk supply. The moisture of the island climate makes the grass plentiful

all the year round and the Indians in Fiji are already famous for the cattle which they rear. There is room for almost indefinite extension of grazing land in the interior. I was surprised to find that a cow, in good milking condition, could be bought for about twenty rupees. It was no uncommon thing to find even indentured Indians having cattle of their own. Among the 4,350 free Indians in the Ba District, on the north side of the main island, the cattle registered in 1915 were valued at £24,140. The cows appear everywhere to be well fed and free from disease. It will be seen from such records as these, what a plentiful supply of fresh milk is available for the Indian children and for grown up people also.

While the facts which I have mentioned should be given their full weight, it is necessary at the same time to refer to others which tell in the opposite direction. On the south side of the main island, where the rainfall is very heavy, the hookworm disease (ankylostomiasis) has found a fertile soil for incubation. The healthy look on the Indian children's faces disappears when they become infected. The mortality, especially among the children, reaches a proportion that is five times higher than that of the northern district where the climate is comparatively dry. The medical authorities are making strenuous efforts to combat the disease, and they have lately had the assistance of an international commission from the Rockefeller Institute in America; yet so long as the new indentured labourers continued to arrive year by year, there appeared to be little chance of permanent success; because the newcomers in their turn became both infected and centres of infection. But now that all new labour from India has been stopped, there is a definite chance of improvement. The Indians, indeed, are taking matters into their own hands: as their indentures expire they pack up their few belongings and make their way overland to the northern parts of the island.

Closely allied with the hookworm disease, in its effect upon the organs of digestion, is dysentery, which has been sometimes called by Europeans 'the scourge of Fiji.' This disease was already prevalent in the Islands when the Indians came; and it has followed them into the coolie 'lines' wherever they have gone. In earlier years, the infant death-rate among

indentured Indians owing to dysentery was very high. But sanitary improvement, combined with medical skill, has appreciably reduced the mortality in recent years. The following table from the records of the Plantation Hospitals will make this fact clear:

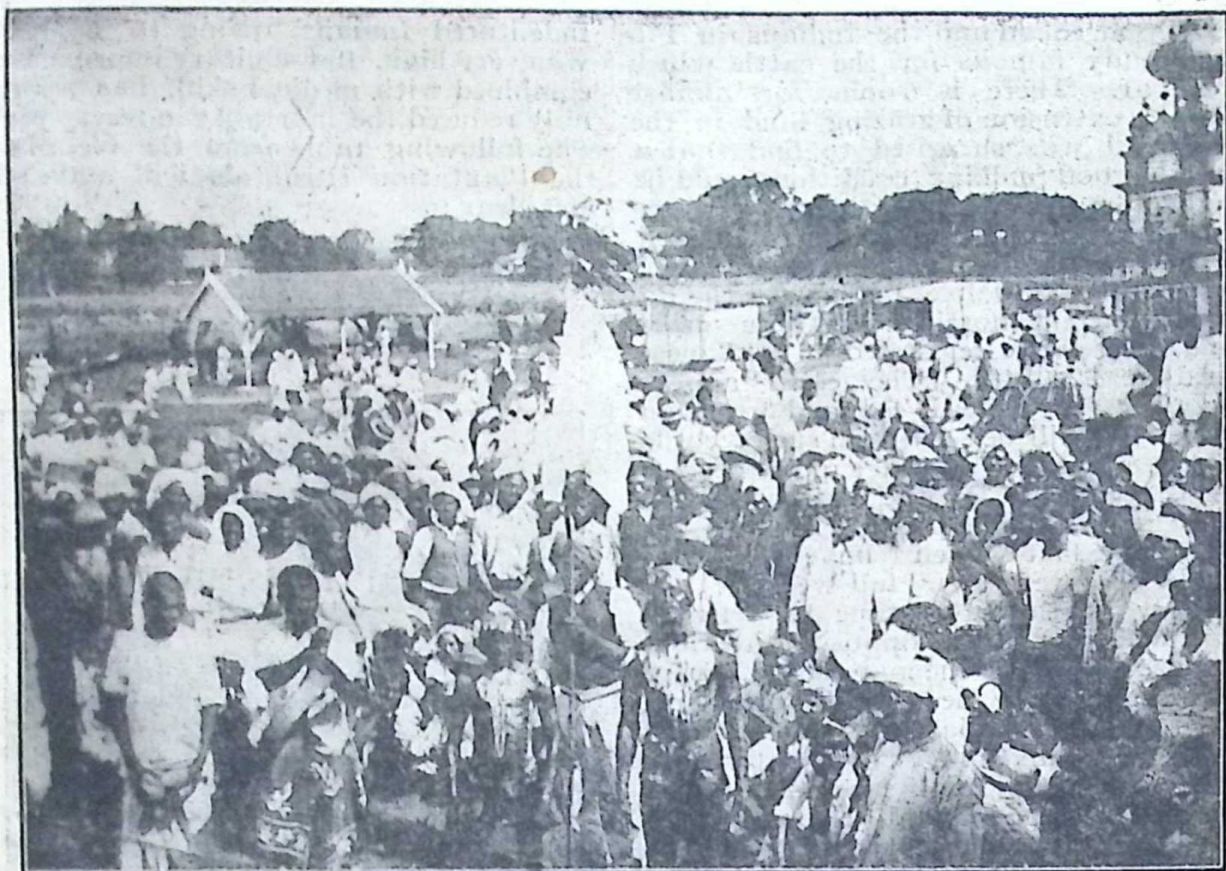
	Cases	Deaths
1911	1,019	49
1912	686	46
1913	562	30
1914	469	22
1915	497	20



Muharram Festival by Indian Muhammadans in Fiji.

Such figures as these are encouraging for the future. They show clearly what may be accomplished, in a small group of islands like Fiji, where a disease, such as dysentery, is taken thoroughly in hand and scientific methods of prevention are employed.

A disease, that has reached abnormal proportions among Indians, is leprosy. It is difficult to say whether this disease was imported along with the indentured immigration, or whether it was already indigenous in Fiji; but it is an ominous fact today that in spite of the efforts of the Fiji Government to segregate all definite cases of leprosy on the Island of Makogai, leprosy shows no signs at all of dying out. The report of the Superintendent of the Leper Asylum begins as follows:



Indians in Fiji celebrating the Muharram Festival.

"During the year 1915 there were 44 admissions, 12 deaths, 3 persons discharged, and 59 repatriated to India, leaving 249 lepers in the Asylum at the end of the year."

It is not possible to gather from the Government Report how many of these remaining lepers are Indians; but, from the figure given of those repatriated to India during the year, it is clear that Indians must represent a considerable proportion of the total. My own experience, limited as it is, has shown me that the disease is wide spread. I can remember three or four different hospitals which had a separate place for lepers,—sometimes there were two or three in the same hospital,—and their lot is most pitiable. In the Colonial Hospital, Suva, from whence they are finally transported to the Leper Island, I have found the following entry, for the year 1915:

Lep- rosy	Fijian	Poly- nesian	Indian	Mis- cellaneous	Total
	2	3	9	1	15

It must be remembered that the Indians

who came out to Fiji, under indenture, were passed by the Indian Government Officer as physically sound and free from any contagious disease before embarkation. They then made a continuous and unbroken sea voyage, lasting 30 days, to Fiji. When they arrived there, they were placed in strict quarantine, on the Island of Nuklao, before final disembarkation took place. They were examined in Nuklao, one by one, with great care and deliberation and pronounced in every way sound; only after all these precautions had been taken were they allowed to land in Fiji itself. Yet it is from among these Indians, who have been put to such prolonged health tests, that new cases of leprosy continually arise.

The Islands of Fiji, therefore, must have something about them which favours the spread of this disease, if, after all these safeguards, leprosy has reached its present proportions.

A more disconcerting fact than any of those which have been mentioned hitherto,



Hospital for Indentured Indians in Fiji.

is the very gradual spread of tuberculosis among the Indian settlers. While the origin of leprosy in the Islands is somewhat doubtful, it is fairly generally agreed that the Indian immigrants brought the infection of tuberculosis with them, and that it has spread from them to the Fijians. More than twenty years ago,—so I have often been told,—there were very few signs of tubercular disease: now it is not uncommon.

"Just look at that verandah," said the Matron of the Suva Colonial Hospital to me, pointing to the Indian ward. "When I first came here," she continued, "there were hardly any tubercle cases, but now, —just look at that verandah."

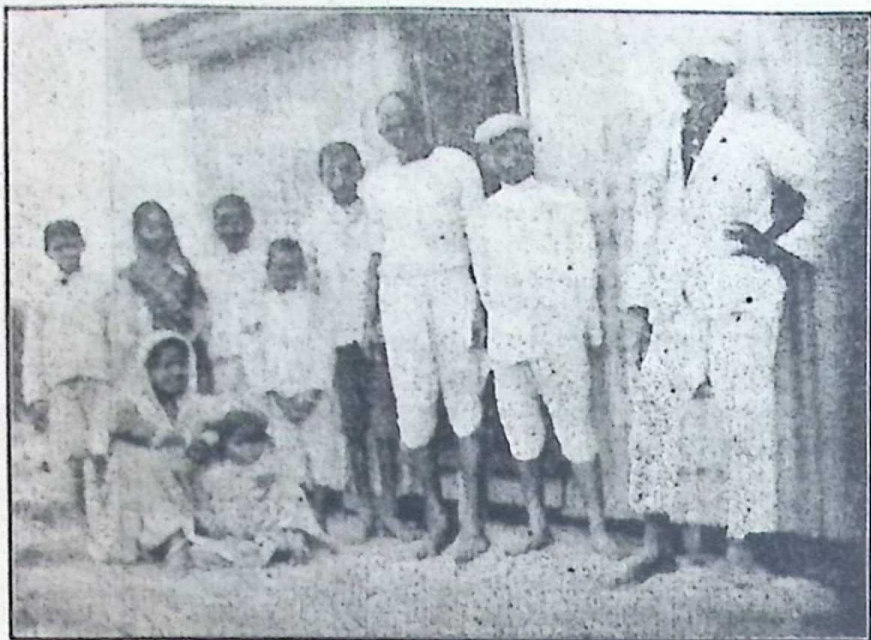
I looked where she pointed, and saw the whole length of neighbouring verandah filled with Indian patients. Not seldom they lie out, night and day, side by side, the Indian ward almost overflowing into the Fijian or vice versa. For now among Fijians and Indians alike the incidence of this disease is heavy.

I have heard repeatedly from European missionaries whose work lies among the Fijians, that tuberculosis appears to be getting a slow but certain hold of the Fijian race and threatening it with ultimate extinction. If through any culpable negligence of Governments, or large employers, introducing artificial

conditions of Indian labour, such a disaster should happen, it would mean a direct loss to humanity which could never be made good. For the Fijian has distinct racial characteristics of his own and powers of intelligence, combined with a deep love of music. He is not like the Australian aboriginal, but more akin to the Maori of New Zealand. He has his own gift to bring to the world's life. Yet it is only too apparent that the Fijian race, owing to many causes, is engaged in a desperate struggle for existence. At one time, before the advent of the Indians, the Fijian numbers were as high as 150,000. An epidemic of measles, which swept over them like a plague, destroyed one quarter of the whole people in a single year. Since then, their numbers have declined as low as 87,000. In recent years there has been a very slight tendency towards recovery. The increases and decreases may be seen as follows:—

1908	1909	1910	1911
+85	+276	+71	-221
1912	1913	1914	1915
+604	+415	+791	+787

This works out at a net increase of about 3000 in the last 8 years. During the same period the Indians have increased by nearly 20,000. The present population may be roughly given as follows:—



Group of Free Indians in Suva, Fiji.

Fijians	90,000
Indians	60,000
Other races	10,000

Thus, while the Fijians have been slowly climbing from 87,000 to 90,000, the Indians have leapt upward with a bound from 40,000 to 60,000. They would probably have reached 68,000 today, if the indentured immigration had continued.

That the Indian rate of increase has not been wholly due to fresh immigration may be seen from the following figures :—

Indian births for	1914	2104
Indian deaths for	1914	714

Net increase	1390
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The increase among the Fijians, as given above, amounts to little more than half this Indian number, though the Fijians are more numerous than the Indians. It also represents the gross increase rather than the net increase.

It should be remembered, on the other hand, that the Indian population contains a greater proportion of young people than the Fijian because of the recent importations from India, which contain no old people. But even including this factor, it would appear certain that the Indian stock is harder than the Fijian, and therefore more likely to survive. If, then, any disease, such as tuberculosis, should get a firm hold

on the Fijians, and add still further to their decline in comparison with the rising Indian immigration, the result might easily follow, that the whole race would disappear altogether from the map of the world. Such large issues depend, in modern times, on the migrations of labour!

With regard to the effects of tuberculosis upon the Fijian population it is a relief to find that there is very little in the recent Hospital returns which points conclusively in the direction of a marked decline of vitality, or a dangerous increase of infection. The whole number of 'hospital' tuberculosis cases and 'hospital'

tuberculosis deaths for all races is as follows :—

1912	cases treated	515	deaths	85
1913	"	469	"	94
1914	"	466	"	93
1915	"	508	"	108

Among the Indians the proportion of deaths to cases treated is significantly large. It reads as follows :—

1912	cases treated	63	deaths	38
1913	"	61	"	22
1914	"	75	"	40
1915	"	52	"	34

To these figures must be added the Indian cases treated in the Suva Colonial Hospital which numbered 52 in the year 1915 with about 15 deaths.

This table bears out the presumption that a very large number of Indian sufferers are never treated in the Hospital at all. The fact is that, in Fiji, the plantation hospitals are practically closed to free Indians who are obliged to pay two shillings a day, if they ever seek admission,—a prohibitive tariff. There is no Indian Medical Service and there are no village dispensaries for Indians. The consequence is that Indians who are not living in the coolie 'lines', when attacked by tuberculosis, linger on uncared for and are apt to become a most dangerous source of infection. Herein lies perhaps the greatest immediate peril to



Ramllila Festival by the Hindus in Fiji.

the Fijian race ; for the children of the two races play about continually together and there is constant social intercourse.

During the past year I have been intimately in touch with those Indians who are living away from the Europeans, out on the free settlements. Nearly everywhere I have come across clear indications of pulmonary tuberculosis, which even an amateur could detect,—sometimes at an acute stage. I have also had many conversations with those whose daily round of work has been either among the Fijians or the Indians, and they have given me their own experience. One medical officer, for instance, told me that the disease had certainly spread among the Indians on the north of the island (the healthy side) during his own period of service. Another, a missionary, described to me how it was the more progressive and intellectual Fijian that seemed most liable to attack. It appears to be the general opinion of those who know the country districts best, that the danger of an increase of the disease among both races is not to be put out of court or treated lightly on account of somewhat encouraging statistics.

But by far the most disconcerting fact of all, with regard to the condition of Indians in Fiji, is the almost universal prevalence of venereal disease contracted in the coolie 'lines.' Syphilis and gonorrhoea are rife among the Indian indentured labourers to an extent that is out of all proportion to what is common among the same class of people in the villages of India itself. In this matter, as is well known, it is the hardest possible thing to get at the true state of affairs ; for there are no diseases that are more often concealed and kept away from medical examination. But the babies born of syphilitic parents carry, alas ! the marks of the disease upon their faces, and the death rates tell their own tale. Among adults, also, a correct impression may be obtained, after a time, by constant residence among the people at close quarters ; and I can now make some claim to have gained that knowledge. The longer I have stayed in Fiji the more depressing my own findings in this direction have been,—whether derived from personal enquiry, or by conversations with those who would be likely to know the facts, or from a close study of reliable records. In

every part of the Islands that I have visited, these diseases are apparent. Where the prevalence of venereal infection seems most in evidence is in those coolie 'lines' which are near the larger Mills.

The causes, which have produced this state of things, are not far to seek. They will come under examination, when the question of rebuilding the social and marriage structure of Indian life in Fiji is discussed. Here it will suffice to point out, that the 'lines' (as they are called) are long wooden sheds with very thin partitions and no privacy at all, and that each partition is occupied by three unmarried men, or else by a family. The crux of the problem lies in the excessively low proportion of the women to the men within these crowded coolie lines. This low proportion may be seen at a glance from the following table, which gives the percentage of adult indentured women to adult indentured men in the coolie 'lines' during the last five years :

Year	Males	Females
1911	73·43	26·57
1912	74·10	25·90
1913	73·88	26·12
1914	73·29	26·71
1915	73·55	26·42

It will be seen from these departmental statistics that the proportion of men to women in the coolie 'lines' under indenture is roughly three to one. But this does not give the actual ratio of *all* the men to *all* the women in the 'lines,' because there are usually hanging about the 'lines,' or living in them, a certain number of free Indians, who are for the most part single men. In the busy season of the year these free Indians may represent a fairly high percentage of the whole number of labourers, especially at the Mill centres. The Report for 1915 mentions that the free Indians, living in the lines on December 31, were in the proportion of eight male adults for every one female adult. I should judge, from my own observation, that this was a normal ratio. It will be easily seen how this still further increases the disproportion of the sexes in the 'lines.'

It will be gathered from these statistics that the original proportion of the sexes, for which the Government of India regulated, (*viz.* that 40 women should accompany every 100 men) is considerably reduced, in actual practice, in the Fiji coolie 'lines.'

On two estates, which came under my own notice, the proportion of adult indentured men to adult indentured women worked out, in one case to 3·2 men, and in the other case exactly to 4 men for every one woman. It must be remembered that these men and women, when under indenture, have been obliged to remain on the same estate, whether they like it or not, for an unbroken period of five years.

A significant incident (into which I made careful enquiries on the spot) will explain in what light the coolie 'lines' are looked upon by the free Indians and for what purposes they are used. Just before my second visit to Fiji, the free Indians, who had been in the habit of coming year by year to the Lautoka Mill for the six months' crushing season, had asked for a rise in wages on account of the high prices of food in the third year of the war. They had been so determined about the matter, that the Muhammadans and Hindus alike had met together and taken a solemn oath not to go back at the old rate. The Musalmans had sworn that if they went back it would be equivalent to eating pork, and the Hindus had sworn that for them, if they went back, it would be equivalent to eating beef. For three or four days all without exception remained firm, and stuck to their oaths, and even renewed them, refusing to go back to the Mill on the old terms. But later on, the younger men began, one by one, to steal away to the overseer and ask to be taken on; and so the united front was broken. Many of the older Musalmans and Hindus remained true to their oaths, but the greater number of Indians gave way. I was, for some time, at a loss to know the meaning of this weakness; for the oath had been a public one of a very sacred kind. Then, one of the most experienced European overseers, who had watched the whole affair from first to last, told me that the real reason was, that the free Indians were wont to come back to the Mill each year (for the six months' crushing season) with the special object of using as prostitutes the indentured women of the 'lines', many of whom might have recently come out from India. He pointed out to me that it was the younger unmarried men who broke their oath first, while many of the older married men held out. I mentioned this explanation to other Europeans who would be able to judge,



A group of Fijians, Indians and European Colonists, taken in Suva, in Fiji.
Mr. Manilal is sitting just behind the driver with spectacles on.

from their Fiji experience, if this was likely to be the case, and it appeared to them probable though one doubted the explanation. I was told that the sexual factor was the great attraction of the coolie 'lines' to the free unmarried Indians. They would come in for a short spell and work and would then go away again. I have often myself enquired about what happened to the free Indians who were living in the plantation 'lines' and I was told the same story, viz., that they cohabited with the women under indenture. The educated Indians who have come out from India to Fiji in Government service and have been able to study this question with something of first hand knowledge of their own people, have repeatedly informed me, that it simply is not possible for an Indian woman to keep her chastity in the coolie 'lines,' or even to live with a single man as her husband, except under specially favouring circumstances, e.g., where he is a man of great determination and

physical strength, or holds some privileged position. A word which I have often heard Indians using to describe the coolie 'lines' is 'Kasbi ghar', literally, 'prostitution house'. There can be little question that Indians usually regard them as such and act accordingly.

It will be well now to go directly to the hospital statistics and find out how far they bear out the general impression I have given. I must point out that Indian women in Fiji shrink back from coming forward into hospital for treatment of these venereal diseases. There are no women doctors, or zenana hospitals, or even trained Indian nurses in Fiji. The examination, therefore, would usually be undertaken by unqualified medical men, called hospital assistants. It is necessary to take this fact into consideration when estimating the number of actual hospital cases; because the number of diseased women who would come in for treatment would be very few in comparison with

those who concealed their disease. I have placed, for convenience, the District Medical Officer's returns for dysentery and tuberculosis side by side with those for syphilis and gonorrhoea. In the case of Navua, I have added some interesting details with regard to ankylostomiasis. Wherever I have marked inverted commas I have quoted the doctor's own words. The returns deal with plantation hospitals only, and they are the figures for 1915. The number of adult indentured Indians in the coolie lines in 1915, was 14,362. I have quoted figures for the larger hospitals only :

LABASA

Dysentery—17 cases, no deaths.

Tuberculosis—3 cases, no deaths.

Syphilis—"21 cases,—one in the primary, 14 in the secondary, 6 inherited, 2 deaths of children with inherited syphilis."

Gonorrhoea—104 cases, no deaths.

NADI

(This medical report is very incomplete.)

Gonorrhoea—62 hospital cases are mentioned.

BA

Dysentery—157 cases with no deaths.

Tuberculosis—"Pulmonary tuberculosis is very prevalent among Indians and Fijians. It is especially common, as far as my experience goes, among time-expired Indians. A large number of uncertified deaths is due to this disease..... Of the few time-expired Indians admitted to this hospital, eight died, chiefly from pulmonary tuberculosis."

Syphilis—"The number of cases treated, viz., 45, is rather less than last year and does not compare unfavourably with other plantation hospitals. The Salvarsan remedies are used in some cases."

Gonorrhoea—214 cases, no deaths.

"This is very prevalent among the Indian population and accounts for much loss of time among the indentured Indians."

REWA

Dysentery—93 cases with 6 deaths.

"An epidemic started towards the end of January which reached its maximum during February and March. With the Indian population the disease is more endemic."

Tuberculosis—18 cases with 6 deaths.

Syphilis—29 cases of secondary and 4 cases of inherited : 3 deaths occurred among the latter.

Gonorrhoea—"58 cases have been treated,—57 at the plantation hospital among the indentured Indians. One was a case in a Fijian hospital, which is very unusual, especially in country districts."

NAVUA

Dysentery—117 cases with 14 deaths.

Epidemic Diarrhoea—263 cases with 1 death.

Tuberculosis—"Seven patients were seen in the hospital and twenty-five outside, all pulmonary. I share in the general impression that tuberculosis is certainly spreading, to a considerable extent, among Fijians and Indians alike."

Syphilis—"30 cases,—two deaths from inherited syphilis, both being young infants. The following table shows the improvement effected in the condition of indentured Indians :—

Syphilis, all stages :

1911	1912	1913	1914	1915
47	46	34	24	20

"There can be little doubt that the steady fall has been due to the wonderful effect of Salvarsan... In my opinion the disease only plays a minor part in the question of infant mortality in the Navua District at the present time, whatever may have been the case in the past."

Gonorrhoea—22 patients were treated, 17 at the hospital. The following table shows the comparison with the five previous years :—

1911	1912	1913	1914	1915
55	20	46	39	17

I think the decrease is due to the careful search made on the plantation for the cause (as soon as any male or female is admitted to hospital) and the patient is at once treated with the stock vaccines and antiseptic injections.

Ankylostomiasis (hookworm).—"This continues to be the chief disease of the district and is still very prevalent despite of all efforts made to treat it and prevent reinfection among the Indian immigrants under indenture. Though severe infections may be recovered from, yet the disease is sometimes so late in coming under treatment that, though all the hookworms have been destroyed, such degeneration of vital tissue has taken place, that the patient dies, in spite of every care and attention, from heart failure with general dropsy."

During the year a total of 3,109 cases of ankylostomiasis was treated at Tamanua hospital including not only the severe cases detained there, but also those who went to the hospital on Saturday and Sunday for the "week end" treatment.

RA

Dysentery—54 cases, no deaths.

Tuberculosis—"49 cases at the Fijian hospital with 7 deaths. For some months we have had over a dozen patients undergoing open air treatment on the verandah with encouraging results. Two Indian cases were treated with one death."

Veneral diseases—"When one indentured Indian woman has to 'serve' three indentured men, as well as various outsiders, the result as regards syphilis and gonorrhoea cannot be in doubt. 35 indentured Indians have been treated for acquired syphilis, 31 for gonorrhoea and 2 for gonorrhoea with gonorrhoeal rheumatism. That is to say 73 indentured Indians, or their children, were treated for venereal diseases during the year."

LAUTOKA

Dysentery—23 cases, no deaths.

Tuberculosis—7 cases, no deaths.

Syphilis—"This malady was frequently noted among the Indian population. 40 cases were admitted to the hospital. Two deaths occurred from inherited syphilis."

Gonorrhoea—"Some 37 cases were treated in the plantation hospital. The disease is common among the Indians, and many cases, especially among the women, are never recorded."

SUVA

[The Colonial Hospital, Suva, is a Government Hospital, but Indians from neighbouring estates are sent to it for treatment].

Dysentery—67 Indians were admitted for treatment.

Tuberculosis—52 Indian admissions.

Syphilis—36 Indians were admitted. There were no Fijian cases.

Gonorrhœa—24 Indian cases and 1 Fijian.

In addition to these returns the following statistics are given for infant mortality among indentured Indians owing to congenital syphilis, debility and premature birth.

Year	Total infant deaths	Congenital syphilis	Debility	Premature birth
1914	194	20	15	17
1915	140	11	9	13

The total admissions of Indians suffering from venereal disease during the year 1915 amounted to 939. It has already been stated that the number of adult indentured Indians on the plantations during that year was 14,362. Even allowing for the fact that a very few admissions to the plantation hospitals were those of free Indians, the proportion to the actual number of adult Indians in the coolie 'lines' is significantly high. It needs to be added, that a considerable reduction in the actual number of cases has been effected in recent years owing to drastic medical treatment.

Further statistics show that the Indian birth rate is being adversely affected. It reads as follows :—

Year	Birth rate
1913	38.25
1914	39.52
1915	35.72
1916	36.01

If it be argued that this rate, as it stands, is by no means a low one, it must be remembered that the Indian immigrants are still largely in the prime of youth or early middle age. The Indian population has not been long enough in the country to contain its full quota of aged and infirm people beyond child-bearing age. This point came before, under notice, when comparing Fijian with Indian births and deaths.

"When one indentured Indian woman has to serve three indentured men, as well as various outsiders, the results, as regards syphilis and gonorrhœa, cannot be in doubt."

I have quoted these words over again in order to point out that they are not a mere casual statement, but actually taken from the Fiji Government Medical Report published in 1916. They were openly and publicly printed in 'Council Paper No. 54' and were laid on the table of the Fiji



Rev. J. F. Burton, author of a book "Fiji of Today" in which he has exposed the evils of the Indenture System.

Legislative Chamber and accepted without comment by the whole Fiji Legislative Assembly.

I was told of a certain Lieutenant Governor in the West Pacific who was asked by the managers of different commercial companies if they could be allowed to indenture for their estates 30 or 40 Polynesian women with every 100 men.

"Gentlemen," the Lieutenant Governor replied, "I am now 59 years old and I have never kept brothels yet, and I certainly don't mean to begin keeping them at my time of life."

It has been stated by many Europeans that, just as in the case of tuberculosis, so in the case of syphilis and gonorrhœa, the Fijian population is already being adversely affected by the Indian immigration. It is of great importance here to find out as accurately as possible what are the facts of the case, because, if the increase of tuberculosis among the Fijians is highly dangerous, the spread of venereal disease would be even more dangerous still. For it would inevitably affect the birth rate and bring

about that rapid decline in population which is in evidence elsewhere throughout the West and South Pacific. One of the highest authorities with whom I discussed the question, laid far more stress on the danger from the spread of venereal disease among the Polynesian races than on anything else.

In Fiji, the statistics up to the present are encouraging. In the whole population of 90,000 Fijians there were only 32 certified cases of syphilis and 25 cases of gonorrhœa. Furthermore it cannot be said with regard to the Fijians with such force as the Indians, that the majority of those contaminated probably escape detection. For the Fijians have their own medical practitioners and their own trained nurses, and great care is taken of them in their own provincial hospitals. There are missionaries everywhere who act as superintendents of the Christian congregations and they are in other ways well looked after. If there were any very clear cases of venereal disease they would certainly be brought to the hospital. It is a remarkable fact, therefore, that in spite of the contact both with Europeans and with Indians which has now taken place for many years, the resulting infection has been so small. Indeed, on the main island, where by far the greater number of Indians reside, the Fijian cases are insignificant. In the whole of the main island of Viti Levu, there were only 3 Fijian cases of syphilis and 5 of gonorrhœa. In the Suva Colonial Hospital, during the year 1915, while there were 36 Indians admitted for syphilis, there was not a single Fijian.

The fact is that, up to the present, the two races have kept singularly aloof in their marriage relations. The Fijian woman seems to have no attraction for the Indian man, and vice versa. The test

has been a very severe one, because of the paucity of Indian women; but the Indian has stood the test. There has been no race mixture. Mr. W. W. Pearson came across one family of Fiji Indian half castes in the course of a walk across the main island. This family was living in isolation far in the interior. But I have not heard of any other case, though doubtless some few may exist.

Yet in spite of this encouraging side, the future for the Fijian race with respect to venereal disease is by no means free from danger. More and more the children of the two races play together; and the morals of the Indian children, picked up in the coolie 'lines', are vitiated at the outset of life. The sex repulsion which now exists may at any time break down. The Indian woman, who has become utterly depraved and taken to a life of prostitution, is a dangerous source of future infection for the Fijian, whom she seeks for gain of money. The second generation of Indians in Fiji have much closer contact and social intercourse with the Fijians than those Indian emigrants who had just come out from home. Thus, though the natural barrier between the races has been very strong in the past, it may at any time be broken down through social intercourse; and further, if the depravity which has been inseparable from the conditions of the plantation coolie 'lines', finds its way still more deeply into the very heart of the Indian population, there is no telling to what lengths it may go. The only real path of safety lies in employing every possible effort without delay to make feasible a truly normal Indian married life. Then, it may be hoped, venereal disease itself among Indians will grow less and the depravity of the sexual instinct will no longer be a pressing danger both to Indians themselves and to others.

C. F. ANDREWS.

SOME AGRICULTURAL LESSONS OF THE WAR

FOOD CONSERVATION.

II.

SIDE by side with the uttermost effort to increase food-production by intensive agriculture, the belligerent countries have had to adopt rigorous measures

to conserve food-supplies. From the accounts we read in the papers about the meatless days, potatoless days, communal kitchens, the utilization of kitchen refuse, the control of exports and imports, we

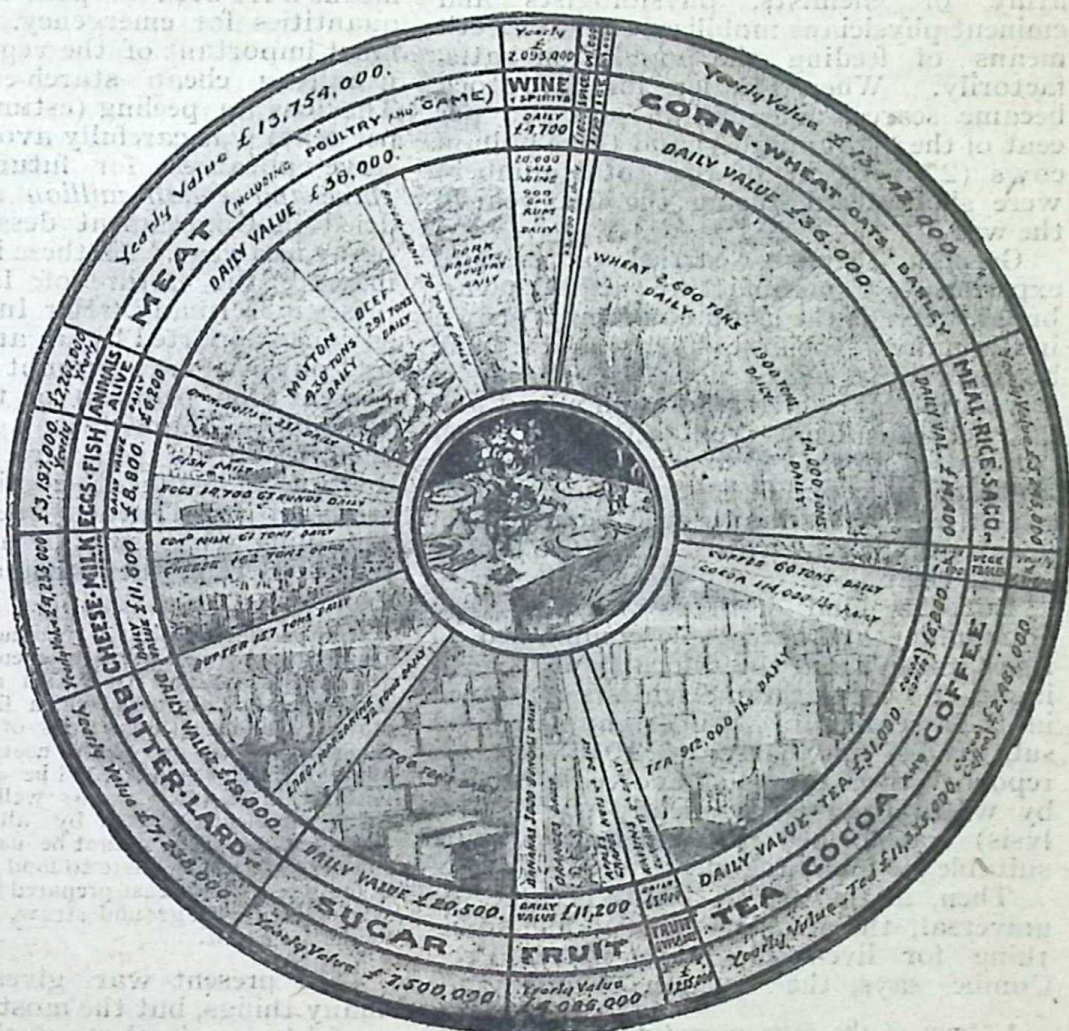
get an idea of the grave situation in the countries at war. In England the fact that there is not enough food to go round according to the customary consumption of the people is clear, and the Government have now taken the responsibility of rationing the entire population. Lord Rhondda, the Food-Controller, prescribes "four ounces of margarine per head weekly, and one and one-half ounces of tea and one-half pound of sugar. Potatoes are to be used in the manufacture of bread to economize in the consumption of cereals." Yet the task is a difficult one. Even rigorous rationing cannot solve the problem and the Government in spite of various schemes of food control is unable to satisfy the popular demand for a sufficient and a fair distribution of necessary foods. Instead of restricting the supplies of tea, butter, sugar, bread, a comprehensive rationing system has been introduced in England.

We may have some idea of the enormous quantity of food necessary for the entire population of England if we carefully examine the following chart which illustrates graphically the average daily food-supply of London only. This chart is taken from the *Review of Reviews* (1911).

Now, if this is just what is necessary for a single city, the problem of feeding the people of England at this crisis is indeed a grave one.

It is now being preached all over England that people could eat less food than they do and get along just as well. Human physiologists are at work to "educate the public" in this direction, but the forces of circumstances compel them to satisfy themselves with much restricted diet. This may prove to be a blessing in disguise, for "stomach-excess" has been one of the curses of the European standard of living.

Since the outbreak of the war, attention has been devoted to restricting waste as much as possible and to find various ways of utilizing it. It has been estimated that the kitchen waste of the United States "totaled \$700,000,000 a year,"* that is, more than two hundred and ten crores



The Food Supply of London—Its Daily and Yearly Value.

* The American Review of Reviews, Nov. 1917.

of Rupees. The Department of Agriculture in cooperation with the innumerable organisations has undertaken to reduce this waste as much as possible. Information as to the use of wasted materials and facilities for carrying out in actual practice the suggestions of the federal food administration are freely given. Thus, the policy of restricting and utilizing waste will train the people to economize food—a lesson no less important than the need of supporting national agriculture to increase the productivity of soils.

The food crisis has been much more acute in Central Europe than anywhere else, but the German Government strained every nerve to solve the problem of food economy through the cooperation of an army of chemists, physiologists and eminent physicians mobilized to "discover" means of feeding the population satisfactorily. When fodder for live-stock became scarce, nine million pigs (35 per cent of the total number) and three million cows (27 per cent of the total number) were slaughtered during the first year of the war.*

German Chemists carried on several experiments to manufacture suitable "war-bread." Rye is the grain commonly grown in Germany. The first effort was to bake bread with a mixed flour 70 per cent of the starch of which was from wheat and 30 per cent from rye; later, 5 to 15 per cent of potato flour was added to it in order to economize the quantity of wheat used. Gradually, the quantity of potato flour was raised to 20 to 35 per cent of the whole.

But this kind of bread became very unpopular; and the people complained of its coarseness and the difficulty in digesting it. So the German Scientists continued in their search for proper human food substitutes, and early in 1915 it was reported that they had evolved a process by which bran is chemically (by hydrolysis) transformed into substances quite suitable for human food.

Then, as the use of bran became so universal, the problem was to find something for live-stock in its place. Prof. Combe says, the German chemists got

"artificial bran" for cows. I quote from the review of his book:—

The manufacture of "war bread" left no residue of bran for the cattle to eat, and without the bran milch cows could not maintain the milk supply. An "artificial bran" for the feeding of cattle was developed so that milch cows could be nourished, though not in their former numbers. The material for this was collected by carts every two days in the cities and was made up of scraps of meat, grease, tendons, bones, cartilages, blood-vessels, fish-bones, viscera of fish and birds, waste from fruits and vegetables, salads, peelings of fruits and potatoes, bread particles, and decayed fruits and preserves. All these were collected, desiccated, sterilized to destroy all germs, and then pulverized. The gray powder so obtained was easily transported and kept excellently. As much as 2,500,000 tons of this material were made annually. The milk obtained from feeding it was used exclusively as human food.

With regard to vegetables, various means have been adopted to preserve large quantities for emergency. Potato is the most important of the vegetables and it is usually a cheap starch-containing food. The loss in peeling (estimated to be 15 per cent) was carefully avoided and to preserve potatoes for future consumption *three and a half million tons* have been dried in Government dessicators in Germany in a year. All these instances clearly indicate the nature of Industrial enterprises in Germany. Her Industrial organisations supported by an army of chemists and physicists are prompt in solving the present food problem of the country. As the supply of meat was greatly reduced, their attention was directed to the production of a "meat substitute" and after series of experiments they succeeded in obtaining what is known as "edible protein." Here is the account given by Dr. Combe:—

Another device used to produce edible protein as a substitute for meat was the cultivation of yeast in a molasses solution to which ammonium sulphate was added and through which fine air bubbles were blown. Unlimited quantities of yeast could be obtained in this way at slight cost, and a third of an ounce of the dry yeast could be added to soups daily without ill effects. It was well absorbed and was taken on meatless days by all classes of society. Ordinary beer yeast cannot be used for human beings since it gives a bad taste to food and retains an odor of bad beer. The yeast prepared as described above, when mixed with ground straw, was largely used as fodder for cattle.

The present war gives us lessons in many things, but the most significant and useful lesson is that of the importance of the economic strength gained by utilization of the resources of one's own country. The application of chemical knowledge,

* Many of the facts presented here with regard to the solution of German food problems are taken from an English review of the book—*Comment se nourrir en temps de guerre*—lately published by Dr. Combe of the University of Lausanne.

chemical principles and chemical experience by German Scientists has contributed largely to the tiding over of the grave war-crisis in Germany. She realises that strength of a nation lies not only in Military Organisations, in battle-ships or in a large standing army, but in efficient Industrial Organisations and enterprises. With this object in view she built her economic structure; she now occupies the foremost place in most of the branches of Chemical industries; in the matter of Industrial Chemistry the world looks to her for instruction and guidance.

Our hope is that both the public and the Government of India will learn this very important lesson from Germany and direct their efforts to the proper utilization of India's vast resources.

During the present war as the food crisis became rather acute, the question of restricting the use of cereals in the manufacture of spirituous liquors engaged the attention of the belligerent nations. It is now a war-necessity. Long before the war began, the Kaiser is said to have declared that, in the next great war, that nation would win which used the least alcohol. This is indeed the motive that led Russia to abolish Vodka and France absinthe. In England Mr. Lloyd George heralded a campaign against alcohol, but the Government did not give the support that was necessary to ensure a complete victory. Before the war, she consumed 36,000,000 barrels of beer, ale and stout; and the Government has reduced the quantity down to 10,000,000. As soon as America entered into the war, the question of prohibiting the brewing of grains was placed before the Federal Congress.

It is difficult to estimate the amount of grain consumed annually in the manufacture of alcoholic beverages by the different countries of the world. In England and the United States of America the bulk of the spirit produced is manufactured from grain. Out of 17,000,000 tons of cereals annually consumed there, a little less than two million tons are used for brewing. The figures from the United States of America are as follows:—

Barley	102,861,528	bushels
Corn	44,743,016	"
Rye	7,262,580	"
Wheat	1,049,394	"
That is, nearly 156,000,000 bushels of grain are thus removed from the food		

supply in the production of a dangerous article for human consumption in the U. S. A.

It may be interesting to treat this fact graphically to draw popular attention. I quote from an article in the 'World's Work,' July 1907.

4,000,000 people could live for 100 days on the rye now used for drinkables. 56,000,000 people could live for 100 days on the corn meal so used. 16,000,000 people could live for 100 days on the rice so used. 76,000,000 people could thus be kept from starvation for 100 days on these three cereals alone. That is, the population of England could subsist on these food supplies for nearly six months, and the population of France for nearly seven months.

Dr. A. E. Taylor, an American professor of Economics, estimates :

"That after making allowance for all recovered food substances, such as swill for animals, we use grain enough in the production of alcoholic beverages to give an army of 11,000,000 men a one-pound loaf of bread every day in the year. That is, our drinking habit consume, every twelve month, the equivalent of more than 4,000,000,000 loaves of bread. As half a loaf per person is the usual daily allowance, this means that we waste in this fashion the yearly bread supply of 22,000,000 people."

The above figures need no comments and readers will at once realise the enormous quantity of grain thus wasted from the standpoint of food either for man or animal.

Let us treat these facts independently of moral considerations. The food-statisticians tell us that in ordinary times the world does not produce more food-stuffs than it consumes. In the face of this fact, war-conditions have made the situation critical. The International Institute of Agriculture estimates that the world's food-supply will be short by about 130,000,000 bushels of grain. This shortage may continue for a considerable period after the war until normal cultivation is resumed. The effort to increase food-production by intensive methods of agriculture will certainly improve the situation, but a large increase in the crop-yield cannot be suddenly brought about. Therefore, in the countries where the bulk of the spirits is now manufactured from grain, the need of prohibiting the brewing of grain is urgent. Referring to this question Dean Davenport of the University of Illinois writes :

"More than four-fifths of the consumption (of alcohol) serves no useful purpose in the arts or sciences, and at the best caters to an appetite that takes bread from children and support from wives and mothers by the thousands.

Wholly aside from all considerations of morals, the weakening effect of liquor upon thousands of its users, or the economic wreckage resulting from its use, the fact is that there is a world-shortage in grain approximately equal to the amount used for brewing.* *Their use for fermented liquors is the one great waste that can be prevented without the disturbance of any essential public interest. Not to prevent it is to pursue a course little short of criminal negligence.*" (Atlantic Monthly, July 1917).

The utilization of grain in the manufacture of alcoholic beverages means a serious draft on the necessary food for human consumption. About 100 years ago Germany used grain for the manufacture of alcohol, but now she depends largely on potatoes. In 1908-09 out of the total output of 93,612,200 gallons of alcohol, 75,222,400 gallons were manufactured from potatoes, the amount of the latter thus consumed being nearly 3,000,000 tons. Every year the proportion of potatoes to grain is increasing.

If the countries of progressive agriculture take care of their grain and other food-crops and restrict their use in the manufacture of spirits, how much precaution India should take, I leave my readers to imagine. Here our crop-yields are far below the average, agriculture unprogressive, a large percentage of our population does not know what it is to have a full meal every day; and yet we are allowed to distil and consume 9,197,183 imperial gallons* of country-spirit!

Country spirit is usually prepared by distillation from the mahua flower, molasses, fermented palm-juice and rice. How much grain is being utilized in India in brewing no one seems to know. The Department of Statistics writes to me that "no information is available in this Department on those items of your letters regarding the grain used for the preparation of liquors." But the task of recording the fact is not a difficult one. In any civilized country, its Government could place such information before the public if wanted.

Let us suppose that one-third of the total country spirit is manufactured from grain. In that case 766,432 maunds of grain would be necessary on the basis of ten seers of grain for each gallon of country spirit. That is, even at the rate of half a seer of grain per head per diem, more than seven and a half lakhs of people could

live for three months on the cereals thus used.

Country spirit is the main source of excise revenue, about two-thirds of the total receipts from liquors being derived from it. Therefore it is the interest of the Government to extend its manufacture. The Mahua flowers and molasses from which a considerable quantity of country spirit is now obtained, may have to be utilized in the manufacture of Industrial alcohol, and in that case the brewing of grain must necessarily be increased. But at the present stage of her economic life if India allows her grain to be brewed, I say, she is gambling with Death.

As I write, the report of the meeting of the Imperial Legislative Council held on the 20th February, 1918, is published in the newspapers; and we find that a resolution recommending prohibition of the use of all alcoholic beverages is opposed by Government and is defeated by votes. While the Civilized Governments of the West are adopting the policy of prohibition, the Government of India congratulate themselves on the increased revenue from excise, and in a country where very large portions of the population are total abstainers, consumption of alcoholic and intoxicating beverages is increasing fast. The increase of the population of British India during the ten years preceding the census of 1911 was only 5.5 per cent, and in a period of seven years (1905-1912) the consumption of country spirit had increased by 5 per cent. The following statements showing the quantity of imported liquors would be interesting to the readers.

Year	Gallons imported	Net gallons consumed in the country.
1912-13	6,722,296	6,712,992
1913-14	6,785,971	6,777,382
1914-15	5,515,419	5,499,292
1915-16	4,825,824	4,785,948
1916-17	4,457,780*	4,286,451

Of course a certain quantity of spirits is used as medicines, drugs, and chemicals. For instance, in the year 1916-17 nearly 388,806 gallons of spirits were consumed for purposes other than beverages. Deduct this amount from the total; and you obtain the net quantity of foreign liquor consumed in drinks and add to this total gallons of country spirits produced, you

* Decrease is due to war.

* The figures for 1916-1917.

get the enormous quantity of 13,094,828 gallons of alcoholic beverages consumed in India during the year 1916-17.

It is true that we must have alcohol for industrial purposes, and as it furnishes a cheap and excellent motive power of engines, its place in Industry is an important one. Every sane man would realise this, but at the same time the brewing of grain must be prohibited and less important materials should be used in its place.

Alcohol can be produced from a great variety of farm produce. It can even be made from spoiled crops and farm refuse, etc. If the manufacture of spirits required for industrial purposes can be carried on by the mutual co-operation of farmers

and Government, it would certainly benefit agriculture. In Germany farmers sow their own potatoes and then cart them to a joint-owned distillery where they are converted into alcohol in the winter months, while "the spent wash and residues, rich in nitrogenous matters, is utilized as a cattle-food on the farms." So, hand in hand with the production of alcohol there goes on intensive methods of potato-cultivation and extensive breeding of farm animals. And then, with the increase in Animal Husbandry, a large quantity of manure becomes available for the continuous cultivation of crops.

NAGENDRANATH GANGULEE.

Bichitra Library.

AT HOME AND OUTSIDE

BY RABINDRANATH TAGORE.

NIKHIL'S STORY.

(1)

A few days later, my master brought Panchu round to me. His *zamindar*, it appeared, had fined him a hundred rupees, and was threatening him with ejection.

"For what fault?" I inquired.

"Because," I was told, "he has been found selling foreign cloths. He begged and prayed his *zamindar* to let him sell off his stock, bought with borrowed money, promising faithfully never to do it again; but the *zamindar* would not hear of it, and insisted on his burning the foreign stuff there and then; if he wanted to be let off. Panchu in his desperation blurted out defiantly: 'I can't afford it! You are rich; why not buy it up and burn it?' This only made the *zamindar* red in the face as he shouted: 'The scoundrel must be taught manners, give him a shoe-beating!' So poor Panchu got insulted as well as fined."

"What happened to the cloth?"

"The whole bale was burnt."

"Who else was there?"

"Any number of people, who all kept shouting *Bande Mataram*. Sandip was

also there. He took up some of the ashes crying: 'Brothers! This is the first funeral pyre lighted by your village in celebration of the last rites of foreign commerce. These are sacred ashes. Smear yourselves with them in token of your Swadeshi vow.'

"Panchu," said I, turning to him, "you must lodge a complaint."

"No one will bear me witness," he replied.

"None bear witness?—Sandip! Sandip!"

Sandip came out of his room at my call. "What is the matter?" he asked.

"Won't you bear witness to the burning of this man's cloth?"

Sandip smiled. "Of course I shall be a witness in the case," he said. "But I shall be on the opposite side!"

"What do you mean," I exclaimed, "by being a witness on this or that side? Will you not bear witness to the truth?"

"Is the thing which happens the only truth?"

"What other truths can there be?"

"The things that ought to happen! The truth we must build up will require a great deal of untruth in the process. Those who have made their way in the world have created truth, not blindly followed it."

"And so—"

"And so I will bear what you people are pleased to call false witness, as they have done who have created empires, built up social systems, founded religious organisations. Those who would rule do not dread untruths; the shackles of truth are reserved for those who will fall under their sway. Have you not read history? Do you not know that in the immense cauldrons where vast political developments are simmering, untruths are the main ingredients?"

"Political cookery on a large scale is doubtless going on, but—"

"Oh, I know! You, of course, will never do any of the cooking. You prefer to be one of those down whose throats the hotchpotch which is being cooked will be crammed. They will partition Bengal and say it is for your benefit. They will seal the doors of education and call it raising the standard. But you will always remain good boys, snivelling in your corners. We bad men, however, must see whether we cannot erect a defensive fortification of untruth."

"It is no use arguing about these things, Nikhil," my master interposed. "How can they, who do not feel the truth within them, realise that to bring it out from its obscurity into the light, is man's highest aim,—not to keep on heaping material outside."

Sandip laughed. "Right, Sir!" said he. "Quite a correct speech for a school-master. That is the kind of stuff I have read in books, but in the real world I have seen that man's chief business is the accumulation of outside material. Those who are masters in the art, advertise the biggest lies in their business, enter false accounts in their political ledgers with their broadest pointed pens, launch their newspapers daily laden with untruths, and send preachers abroad to disseminate falsehood like flies carrying pestilential germs. I am a humble follower of these great ones. When I was attached to the Congress party, I never hesitated to dilute ten per cent of truth with ninety per cent of untruth. And now, merely because I have ceased to belong to that party, I have not forgotten the basic fact that man's goal is not truth, but success."

"True success," corrected my master.

"May be," replied Sandip, "but the fruit of true success ripens only by culti-

vating the field of untruth,—tearing the soil and pounding it into dust. Truth grows up by itself like weeds and thorns, and only worms can expect to get fruit from it!" With which he flung out of the room.

My master smiled as he looked towards me. "Do you know, Nikhil," he said, "I believe Sandip is not irreligious,—his religion is the religion of the obverse side of truth, like the dark moon, which is still a moon, for all that its light has gone over to the wrong side."

"That is why," I assented, "I have always had an affection for him, though we have never been able to agree. I cannot condemn him, even now, though he has hurt me sorely, and may yet hurt me more."

"I have begun to realise that," said my master. "I have long wondered how you could go on putting up with him. I have, at times, even suspected you of weakness. I now see that though you two do not rhyme, your rhythm is the same."

"Fate seems bent on writing Paradise Lost in blank verse, in my case, and so has no use for a rhyming friend!" I remarked pursuing his conceit.

"But what of Panchu?" resumed my master.

"You say his zamindar wants to eject him from his ancestral holding; supposing I buy it up and then keep him on as my tenant?"

"And his fine?"

"How can the zamindar realise that, if he becomes my tenant?"

"His burnt bale of cloth?"

"I will procure him another. I should like to see any one interfering with a tenant of mine, for trading as he pleases!"

"I am afraid, Sir," interposed Panchu despondently, "while you big folk are doing the fighting, the police and the law vultures will merrily gather round, and the crowd will enjoy the fun, but when it comes to getting killed, it will be the turn of only poor me!"

"Why, what harm can come to you?"

"They will burn down my house, Sir, children and all!"

"Very well, I will take charge of your children," said my master. "You may go on with any trade you like. They shan't touch you."

That very day I bought up Panchu's holding and entered into formal possession. Then the trouble began.

(2)

Panchu had inherited the holdings of his grand-father as his sole surviving heir. Everybody knew this. But at this juncture an aunt turned up from somewhere, with her boxes and bundles, her rosary, and a widowed niece. She ensconced herself in Panchu's home and laid claim to a life interest in all he had.

Panchu was dumbfounded. "My aunt died long ago," he protested.

In reply he was told that he was thinking of his uncle's first wife, but that the former had not lost time in taking to himself a second.

"But my uncle died before my aunt," exclaimed Panchu, still more mystified. "Where was the time for him to marry again?"

This was not denied. But Panchu was reminded that it had never been asserted that the second wife had come after the death of the first, but the former had been married by his uncle during the latter's life time. Not relishing the idea of living with a co-wife she had remained in her father's house till her husband's death after which she had got religion and retired to holy Brindaban, whence she was now coming. These facts were well known to the officers of the Kundu *zamindar* (Panchu's former landlord) as well as to some of the tenants. And if the *zamindar's* summons should be peremptory enough, even some of those who had partaken of the marriage feast would be forthcoming!

One afternoon when I happened to be specially busy, word came to my office room that Bimal had sent for me. I was startled.

"Who did you say had sent for me?" I asked the messenger.

"The Rani Mother."

"The Senior Rani?"

"No, Sir, the Junior Rani Mother."

The Junior Rani! It seemed a century since I had been sent for by the Junior Rani. I kept them all waiting there, and went off into the inner apartments. When I stepped into our room I had another shock of surprise to find Bimala there with a distinct suggestion of being dressed up. The room, which from persistent neglect had latterly acquired an air of having grown absent-minded, had regained something of its old order this afternoon. I stood there silently, looking inquiringly at Bimala.

She flushed a little and the fingers of her right hand toyed for a time with the bangles on her left arm. Then she abruptly broke the silence. "Look here! Is it right that ours should be the only market in all Bengal which allows foreign goods?"

"What, then, would be the right thing to do?" I asked.

"Order them to be cleared out!"

"But the goods are not mine."

"Is not the market yours?"

"It is much more theirs who use it for trade."

"Let them trade in Indian goods, then."

"Nothing would please me better. But suppose they do not?"

"Nonsense! How dare they be so insolent. Are you not—"

"I am very busy this afternoon and cannot stop to argue it out. But I must refuse to tyrannise."

"It would not be tyranny for selfish gain, but for the sake of the country."

"To tyrannise for the country is to tyrannise over the country. But that I am afraid you will never understand." With this I came away.

All of a sudden the world shone out for me with a fresh clearness. I seemed to feel it in my blood, that the Earth had lost the weight of its earthiness, and its daily task of sustaining life no longer appeared a burden, as with a wonderful access of power it whirled through space telling its beads of days and nights. What endless work, and withal what illimitable energy of freedom! None shall check it, oh, none can ever check it! From the depths of my being an uprush of joy, like a waterspout at sea, surged high to storm the skies.

I repeatedly asked myself the meaning of this outburst of feeling. At first there was no intelligible answer. Then it became clear that the bond against which I had been fretting inwardly, night and day, had broken. To my surprise I discovered that my mind was freed from all mistiness. I could see everything relating to Bimala as if vividly pictured on a camera screen. It was palpable that she had specially dressed herself up to coax that order out of me. Till that moment, I had never viewed Bimala's adornment as a thing apart from herself. But to-day the elaborate manner in which she had done up her hair, in the English fashion, made it appear a mere decoration. That which before had the

mystery of her personality about it and was priceless to me, was now out to sell itself cheap.

As I came away from that broken cage of a bedroom, out into the golden sunlight of the open, there was the avenue of bauhiniyas, along the gravelled path in front of my verandah, suffusing the sky with a rosy flush. Flocks of starlings beneath the trees were energetically chattering away. In the distance an empty bullock cart, with its nose on the ground, held up its tail aloft,—one of its unharnessed bullocks grazing, the other resting on the grass, its eyes drooping for very comfort, while a crow on its back was pecking away at the insects on its body.

I seemed to have come closer to the heart-beats of the great earth in all the simplicity of its daily life; its warm breath fell on me with the perfume of the bauhinia blossoms; and an anthem, inexpressibly sweet, seemed to peal forth from this world, where I, in my freedom, live in the freedom of all else.

We men are knights whose quest is that freedom to which our ideals call us. She who makes for us the banner under which we fare forth is the true woman for us. We must tear away the disguise of her who weaves our net of enchantment at home, and know her for what she is. We must beware of clothing her in the witchery of our own longings and imaginings and thus allow her to distract us from our true quest.

To-day I feel that I shall win through, I have come to the gateway of the simple; I am now content to see things as they are. I have gained freedom myself; I shall allow freedom to others. In my work will be my salvation.

SANDIP'S STORY.

Bimala sent for me that day, but for a time she could not utter a word; her eyes kept brimming up to the verge of overflowing. I could see at once that she had been unsuccessful with Nikhil. She had been so proudly confident that she would have her own way,—but I had never shared her confidence. Woman knows man well enough where he is weak, but she is quite unable to fathom him where he is strong. The fact is that man is as much a mystery to woman as woman is to man. If that were not so, the separation of the sexes

would only have been a waste of Nature's energy.

Oh pride, pride! The trouble was, not that the necessary thing had failed of accomplishment, but that the entreaty which had cost her such a struggle to make should have been refused. What a wealth of colour and movement, suggestion and deception, group themselves round this 'me' and 'mine' in woman. That is just where her beauty lies,—she is ever so much more personal than man. When man was being made, the Creator was a Schoolmaster, His bag full of commandments and principles; but when He came to woman, He resigned His headmastership and turned Artist, with only His brush and paint-box.

When Bimala stood silently there, flushed and tearful in her broken pride, like a storm cloud, laden with rain and charged with lightning, lowering over the horizon, she looked so absolutely sweet, I had to go right up to her and take her by the hand. It was trembling, but she did not snatch it away. "Bec," said I, "we two are colleagues, for our aims are one. Let us sit down."

I led her unresisting, to a seat, but strange!—at that point the rush of my impetuosity suffered an unaccountable check, just as the current of the mighty Padma, roaring on in its irresistible course, all of a sudden gets turned away from the crumbling bank by some trifling obstacle beneath the surface. When I pressed Bimala's hand all my nerves rang music, like tuned up strings; but the symphony stopped short at the first movement.

What stood in the way? Nothing singly, but a tangle of a multitude of things,—nothing definitely palpable, but only that unaccountable sense of obstruction. Anyhow, this much has become plain to me, that I cannot swear to what I really am. It is because I am such a mystery to my own mind that my attraction for myself is so strong! If once the whole of myself should become known to me, I would then fling it all away,—and reach beatitude!

As she sat down, Bimala went ashy pale. She, too, must have realised what a crisis had come and gone, leaving her unscathed. The comet had passed by, only the brush of its burning tail had overcome her. To help her to recover herself I said: "Obstacles there will be, but let us fight

them through, and not be down-hearted. Is not that best, Queen?"

Bimala cleared her throat with a little cough, but simply to murmur: "Yes."

"Let us sketch out our plan of action." I continued, as I drew a piece of paper and a pencil from my pocket.

I began to make a list of the workers who had joined us from Calcutta and to assign their duties to each. Bimala interrupted me before I was through, saying wearily: "Leave it now; I will join you again this evening." And then she hurried out of the room. It was evident she was not in a state to attend to anything. She must be alone with herself for a while,—perhaps lie down on her bed and have a good cry.

When she left me, my intoxication began to deepen, as the cloud colours grow richer after the sun is down. I felt I had let the moment of moments slip by. What an awful coward I had been! She must have left me in sheer disgust at my qualms—and she was right!

While I was tingling all over with these reflections, a servant came in and announced Amulya, one of our boys. I felt like sending him away for the time being, but he stepped in before I could make up my mind. Then we fell to discussing the news of the fights which were raging in different quarters over cloth and sugar and salt; and the air was soon clear of all fumes of intoxication. I felt as if awakened from a dream. I leapt to my feet feeling quite ready for the fray.—*Bande Mataram!*

The news was various. Most of the traders, who were tenants of the Kundu *Zamindars*, had come over to us. Many of Nikhil's officials were also secretly on our side, pulling the wires in our interest. The Marwari shop-keepers were offering to pay a penalty, if only allowed to clear their present stocks. Only some Mahomedan traders were still obdurate.

One of them was taking home some German-made shawls for his family. These were confiscated and burnt by one of our village boys. This had given rise to trouble. We offered to buy him Indian woollen stuffs in their place. But where were cheap Indian woollens to be had? We could not very well indulge him in Cashmere shawls! He came and complained to Nikhil, who advised him to go to law. Of course Nikhil's men saw to it

that the trial should come to nothing, even his law-agent being on our side!

The point is, if we have to replace burnt foreign cloth with Indian cloth every time, and on the top of that fight through a law suit, where is the money to come from? And the beauty of it is that this destruction of foreign goods is increasing their demand and sending up the foreigner's profits,—very like what happened to the fortunate shopkeeper whose chandeliers the nabob delighted in smashing out of pleasure for the tinkling-sound of broken glass.

The next problem is,—since there is no such thing as cheap and gaudy Indian woollen stuff, should we be rigorous in our boycott of foreign flannels and merinos, or make an exception in their favour?

"Look here!" said I at length on the first point, "We are not going to keep on making presents of Indian stuff to those who have got their foreign purchases confiscated. The penalty is intended to fall on them, not on us. If they go to law, we must retaliate by burning down their granaries!—What startles you, Amulya? It is not the prospect of a grand illumination that delights me! You must remember, this is War. If you are afraid of causing suffering, go in for love-making, you will never do for this work!"

The second problem I solved by deciding to allow no compromise with foreign articles, in any circumstance whatever. In the good old days, when these gaily coloured foreign shawls were unknown, our peasantry used to manage well enough with plain cotton quilts,—they must learn to do so again. They may not look as gorgeous, but this is not the time to think of looks.

Most of the boatmen had been won over to refuse to carry foreign goods, but the chief of them, Mirjan, was still insubordinate.

"Could you not get his boat sunk?" I asked our manager here.

"Nothing easier, Sir," he replied. "But what if afterwards I am held responsible?"

"Why be so clumsy as to leave any loophole for responsibility? However, if there must be any, my shoulders will be there to bear it."

Mirjan's boat was tied near the landing place after its freight had been taken

over to the market place. There was no one on it, for the manager had arranged for some entertainment to which all had been invited. After dusk the boat, loaded with rubbish, was holed and set adrift. It sank in midstream.

Mirjan understood the whole thing. He came to me in tears to beg for mercy. "I was wrong, Sir—" he began.

"What makes you realise that all of a sudden?" I sneered.

He made no direct reply. "The boat was worth Rs. 2,000," he said. "I now see my mistake, and if excused this time I will never—" with which he threw himself at my feet.

I asked him to come ten days later. If, only, we could pay him that Rs. 2000 at once, we could buy him up body and soul. This is just the sort of man who could render us immense service, if won over. We shall never be able to make any headway unless we can lay our hands on plenty of money.

As soon as Bimala came into the sitting room, in the evening, I said as I rose to receive her: "Queen! Everything is ready, success is at hand, but we must have money."

"Money? How much money?"

"Not so very much, but by hook or by crook we must have it!"

"But how much?"

"A mere Rs. 50,000 will do for the present."

Bimala winced inwardly at the figure, but tried not to show it. How could she again admit defeat?

"Queen!" said I, "You, only, can

make the impossible possible. Indeed you have already done so. Oh, that I could show you the extent of your achievement,—then you would know it. But the time for that is not now. Now we want money!"

"You shall have it," she said.

I could see that the thought of selling her jewels had occurred to her. So I said: "Your jewels must remain in reserve. One can never tell when they may be wanted." And then, as Bimala stared blankly at me in silence, I went on. "This money must come from your husband's treasury."

Bimala was still more taken aback. After a long pause she said: "But how am I to get his money?"

"Is not his money yours as well?"

"Ah, no!" said she, her wounded pride hurt afresh.

"If not," I cried, "neither is it his, but his country's, whom he has deprived of it, in her time of need!"

"But how am I to get it?" she repeated.

"Get it you shall and must. You know best, how. You must get it for Her to whom it rightfully belongs. *Bande Mataram!* These are the magic words which will open the door of his iron safe, break through the walls of his strong room, and confound the hearts of those who are disloyal to its call. Say *Bande Mataram, Bee!*"

"*Bande Mataram!*"

(To be continued.)

Translated by
SURENDRANATH TAGORE.

THE UNKNOWN ROOM

There is one room in your house
That I have never known,
A doorless and windowless chamber
Where you keep yourself alone.

I have feasted in your chambers of joy,
I have fasted in your dark room of pain,
In your bright, open halls of friendliness
I have revelled again and again;

I have warmed my heart
at your hearth of love,
On your comfort and strength I have lain.

But in one windowless chamber
You keep yourself alone:
There is one room in your house of life
That I have never known.

MAYCE SEYMOUR.

COMMENT AND CRITICISM

Sources of Maratha History.

Prof. Jadunath Sarkar in his article 'The Rise of the Maratha Power' in the April Number of the Modern Review, while writing about the complexity of Maratha history makes the statement that 'the man who aspires to write a full and correct history of Shivaji and displace Grant Duff's book, must know four languages,—Persian, Marathi, Hindi and English; he must collect the historical books and MSS. in the first three languages and make an accurate and exhaustive study of the letters and consultations of the English factories etc.' (P. 411). Now I ask the learned Professor why he should exclude the compositions of the Gujarathi poets from which many historical facts can be gleaned about the life and character of Shivaji and his times? The historian of Shivaji must know five languages and in addition must personally go over the ground of Shivaji's exploits, collect the local traditions and reconstruct in his imagination the difficulties Shivaji had to face. I should most respectfully advise Prof. Jadunath Sarkar to take up the study of Gujarathi if he already does not know it and study seriously the compositions of such famous

poets as Bhukan Barot, a no mean figure in Gujarathi literature. If he does that before finishing his projected comprehensive history of Shivaji and his times, I am sure, his perspective would be corrected a little. Surely Shri Shivaji must have come in contact with many influential and brave Gujarathis like the Anawal Killedars of Sathier, Mulher, Songad, etc., who often helped Shivaji in holding at bay the soldiers of Aurangzebe. It is well known that among others the powerful Desai clan of Gandevi offered later on in the times of the Peshwas much valuable assistance to Pillaji Rao Gaekwar in carving out for himself a kingdom from the Mogul Subehdars of Gujarath. It is not too much to assume that the ancestors of the brave Desai clans must have been utilized by Shri Shivaji for his own purposes. A historian of the type of Prof. Jadunath Sarkar would find ample material in the compositions of the Gujarathi poets to deal adequately with the theme suggested above. It is well known that the great Phukan Barot Kavi sang many poems in the presence of the founder of the Maratha Kingdom when the Kavi fled from the court of the Emperor Aurangzebe to that of Shri Shivaji.

S. B. ARTE.

DRIFTING AND AFTER

THE late Mr. Gokhale, in one of his Budget speeches, very aptly described the policy of drift, which is the canker of British administration in India. He told us how liberal viceroy after liberal viceroy comes to India, realises the grave defects of the administrative system, condemns it in private but has not courage and statesmanship enough to initiate a reform. He leaves the existing state of things untouched and consoles himself with the thought, "It will last my term." Nowhere has this indolent love of drift, this unstatesmanly lack of forethought, been so glaringly displayed as in the treatment of our interned youths. As our readers are aware, more than a thousand of our young men, some of them the most brilliant products of our University, have been confined in out of the way places, and ocean-swept sandbanks (*char*) or in their parents' homes, under the Defence of India Act, without a trial, without, in many cases, the formulation of a definite charge against them or an adequate opportunity of rebutting it. This state of things cannot continue for ever, as every sensible man perceives.

The Bengal Government have, therefore, been releasing its political suspects in fairly large numbers during the last three

months. We appreciate the wisdom of this step. But what we do not understand is the treatment of the late victims of this Law of Suspicion. They are released from restrictions on their movements and correspondence; but are not restored to the *status quo ante*; they are not put back in the stage of life from which they had been snatched away by the *lettres de cachet*. If they had been students before internment, they are prevented from re-joining their colleges. Sometimes the officer in charge of internments writes that Government have no objection to the boy seeking admission to any College. But when such a case comes up before the Senate of the Calcutta University for approval, the official Fellows vote solid against the boy, on the ground that internment on mere suspicion is in itself a proof of moral delinquency and that the boy should cease to be a member of the University on account of his "immoral character."

We cannot conceive of anything more irrational. Here Government takes away with one hand, what it seems to be giving with the other. If the Secretary in charge of Internments publicly says that he has no objection to an ex-internee joining a college, why should the Principal of a

Government college be left free to reject the boy simply on the ground that he had been interned? The whole incident makes the ugly suggestion of wheels working within wheels, out of sight of the public.

This sort of tantalising is not only unreasonable, it also bears within it the seed of great mischief. Government release a youth, they give up shadowing him, and then they leave him in an *impasse*. He is not an ex-convict, he has never been tried or even charged before any court, there is outwardly no stain on his character, and yet he finds himself prevented from completing his education, joining any liberal profession, and making himself a useful member of society. We cannot imagine any surer method of manufacturing criminals out of the most hopeful members of our race. What is the young man to do next? All avenues of honourable employment are closed to him for no fault of his own. He must fret his soul in idleness and live as a drone on the earnings of his kinsmen. The alternatives before him are suicide or—crime.

This result is patent to the meanest intellect. And yet no Viceroy or provincial governor thinks it worth his while to solve the problem. He knows that the old system will last *his* term, and he need not worry himself about the life or death of a thousand Indian youths. So long as they were interned, Government was responsible for their maintenance and health, and had to give them some subsistence allowance and facility for medical advice. With their release from internment, Government's responsibility for them ceases. But are they to be left to sink or swim? To sink rather than to swim, as the logical consequence of the state of things we have described above.

The usual plea for refusing re-admission to colleges in the case of these young men is that they would use the opportunity of association with other boys to corrupt them. There would have been some sense in the argument if our colleges had been exclusively residential, and all ex-internees were carefully segregated after their release. But neither of these two things happens in India. Boys meet together in their classrooms for only two to four hours in working days, while they can meet outside as long as they please. We are told in the Bengal Government *communiqué* issued

about the Dinajpur suicide Sachindra Chandra Das Gupta that ex-internees are not shadowed by the police. It, therefore, follows that there is nothing to prevent such a man from associating with college students without detection, even if he is kept out of college.

But what is really at the back of the mind of our average Fellow is the idea that if a man has been interned, he is presumably guilty. We shall not refute here this fallacy, which we have conclusively demolished so often in our pages, especially in the article "Condemned Unheard", of January, 1917. We shall only point out that the University allows convicted delinquents, like candidates who have cheated at an examination, to sit for the degree a second time after a purgatory interval of three or four years. Is not the internment already undergone a sufficient punishment for our young men, though they have been the victims of mere suspicion? With what fairness do you insist on branding them for life? An Irish rebel of 1848 was condemned to death, but the sentence was commuted into penal servitude in Australia, where he worked out his term, became a free man, rose to be prime minister in one of the colonies, and on his return to England was created a knight and privy councillor. Many Sinn Fein *rebels*, caught in the fact, have been restored to their exact status in Irish society. No doubt, many of them have been arrested again, but that is on the ground of their complicity in a second and recent conspiracy to overthrow British rule in Ireland. Why follow a Draconic policy in the case of Indian *suspects* only?

In private conversation no member of our Government denies the injustice and danger of excluding released internees from educational institutions and professions. But none of them cares to take the bold step of doing them justice and restoring them to their *exact* civil status. Statesmanship seems to be bankrupt in India today. We can only point out that the king who consoled himself with the reflection "*Après moi le deluge*" (After me the deluge) does not bear an enviable reputation in French history, and the reign of his immediate successor ended in the collapse of the old order. A policy of drift always proves the most harmful policy in the long run.

ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE IN THE PRESIDENCY OF BENGAL

CRIMINAL.

IN the good old days, what is now called criminal justice, like what is called civil justice, used to be administered by the village panchayat, composed of the chosen men of the village. The members of the panchayat knew their people, who were their kith and kin; they knew their manners, customs, habits and sentiments; they knew local conditions; they knew whom to believe and whom to disbelieve and how far. No one dared to speak untruth to them as untruth was sure of ready detection. Thus, the panchayat being the natural master of all necessary ingredients was in the best position possible to administer justice rightly and speedily and this system did not involve expenses to anybody.*

2. The present system of administration, which was introduced with the best of intentions in supersession of the old one and which has now existed for a long time and had a very long trial, is found in practice to be unsuitable to the conditions of the people. The machinery of administration employed is void of the natural advantages possessed by the panchayat, and has all the disadvantages accompanying the present unnatural arrangement. The cost of the machinery is a heavy charge on the tax-payer and the direct charges on the litigants weigh heavily on them, and these are prohibitive to many and ruinous to others. The procedure is dilatory and harassing and does not admit of proper justice being done, and under it, in a good many cases, there is denial or miscarriage of justice, a natural result of the system.

3. The criminal work is now done by paid agency called stipendiary magistrates and unpaid agency called honorary magistrates and benches of magistrates and their number in 1916 was as follows:

Stipendiary ... 342

Special and Honorary ... 702

Benches ... 127

(Vide High Court's annual statement I).

The stipendiary magistrates are (1) members of the Indian Civil Service, almost all Europeans imported from England, (2) members of the provincial executive service, partly European and mostly Indian, and (3) members of the subordinate executive service. The European officers are strangers in all respects and have not and cannot have the advantages possessed by the panchayat, and above all, they do not possess the necessary knowledge of the vernacular language which is an important factor in the work, and therefore, most of them at least are unfit for trying original cases. As regards Indian officers, though they know the vernacular, which is their own, they not being residents of the places where they are generally employed, they too want the natural advantages possessed by the panchayat; and thus they are not the right sort of men to do the work, though owing to natural causes they are better than the foreigners. Then all the officers, European or Indian, are appointed to the service when they are raw youths without experience of life and of human affairs, and in spite of the so-called departmental examinations, which have no practical value, very few among them rightly know or understand the law, and possession of magisterial powers, under the present conditions, turns the heads of many of them. They are also totally void of a knowledge of civil laws which are so often connected with criminal cases. The members of the provincial executive service and of the subordinate executive service are appointed to service under a system of nomination, and so the selections are generally not and cannot be happy, and the best men of the province are excluded from the service. The stipendiary magistrates begin with third class magisterial powers and the European officers get higher powers in quick succession, including the unjustifiable summary powers

* It must be admitted, on the other hand, that the panchayat was open to party influence and sometimes had local prejudices.—Editor, M.R.

which make a short cut of justice; and the Indian magistrates also generally get higher powers before they have gained necessary experience. Powers are generally given not in consideration of the fitness of an officer to exercise them, but mostly with the view of meeting the amount of work that has to be done at a station, it being a secondary consideration whether the work is done rightly or not. The honorary magistrates and the bench magistrates are generally appointed for considerations other than fitness and the selections are mostly unhappy. Most of them are ignorant of law. These unpaid magistrates like the paid magistrates sit at the head-quarters station of the district, or of the sub-district and have not the advantages possessed by the panchayat and in fact they have to work under the same disadvantages which attend the stipendiary magistrates. Among these magistrates there are Europeans also. Such is the machinery that is employed under present conditions, to deal with the personal liberty of the people which is involved in criminal cases.

4. The ordinary powers of magistrates of all classes are given in schedule III of the criminal procedure code and they may be invested with additional powers under schedule IV. Under section 32 of the Criminal Procedure Code, the magistrates are empowered to pass sentences as follows:—

First class: (1) Imprisonment for a term not exceeding two years including authorised solitary confinement.

(2) Fine not exceeding one thousand rupees.

(3) Whipping.

Second class: (1) Imprisonment for a term not exceeding six months including authorised solitary confinement.

(2) Fine not exceeding two hundred rupees.

(3) Whipping when specially empowered.

Third class:—(1) Imprisonment for a term not exceeding one month.

(2) Fine not exceeding fifty rupees.

5. Chapter XXII of the C. P. C. deals with summary powers. The following magistrates may exercise these powers.

1. The District Magistrate.

2. Any magistrate of the first class specially empowered in this behalf.

3. Any Bench of magistrates invested with the powers of a magistrate of the first class and specially empowered in this behalf.

The summary powers generally cover all cases coming before the magistrate of the first class, a few offences are also tri-

able under the summary procedure by any bench of magistrates of the second or third class when specially empowered in this behalf. A sentence of imprisonment up to three months may be passed under summary trial.

While in summons cases and cases mentioned in section 260 C. P. C., the magistrate has to record memorandum of the evidence, and to record it at length in other cases, in cases tried under the summary procedure, where no appeal lies, the magistrate or bench of magistrates need not record the evidence of the witnesses or frame a formal charge, but has simply to fill up a prescribed form and to record a brief statement of the reasons for conviction, if the accused is convicted (section 263 C. P. C.), and where an appeal lies, the magistrate or the bench has only to record a judgment embodying the substance of the evidence and also to fill up the form prescribed in section 263 C. P. C., this judgment being the only record in cases within section 264 C. P. C.

6. The stipendiary magistrates and the honorary magistrates sit singly and the result of a case depends on the individual intelligence, capacity, and idiosyncrasies of an officer, and in order to make a short way to disposal, a good many officers are oftentimes impatient and sometimes arbitrary. For these and other reasons, wrong persons also are convicted and right persons also are acquitted, and right cases are dismissed and wrong cases are successful. In fact, under present conditions, litigation sometimes becomes a sort of gambling, no one knowing what the final result of a case may be.

7. In criminal cases, the complainant has no right of appeal, if after trial his case is dismissed or if the convicted person is not awarded sufficient punishment. The convicted person has a right of appeal from any conviction by a second or third class magistrate. Such appeals lie before the district magistrate, but are generally heard by additional magistrates or by magistrates of the first class specially empowered in this behalf, and in hearing these appeals, the court is generally led by executive ideas based on no materials, i. e., the court is led by personal ideas of its own. Appeal from convictions by first class magistrates lies before the court of sessions. There is no appeal, where a court of sessions or the district magistrate

or other magistrate of the first class passes a sentence of imprisonment only not exceeding one month or a sentence of fine only not exceeding fifty rupees or a sentence of whipping only which under the law may amount to 30 stripes and which is a sentence looked upon by the people as very degrading and as a perpetual black mark put upon the convicted person and his family for generations, and this, when the case is tried under the regular procedure, but here the convicted person has materials to move the High Court for quashing the conviction, though few persons have the means to do so.

The summary procedure is harder still for the convicted person. No appeal lies in a case tried under this procedure, when the sentence passed is only one of imprisonment not exceeding three months against one month under the regular procedure, or only one of fine not exceeding rupees two hundred against rupees fifty under the regular procedure, or only one of whipping. As the evidence is not recorded, there are no materials for moving the High Court against the conviction and sentence. There is a right of appeal when there is a combination of any two of these sentences, but practically, this right has no value as the evidence is not recorded. Page 5 of the High Court's report for 1916 shows that while on regular trial, appealable sentence was passed in respect to 34,574 persons, and non-appealable sentence in respect to 19,984 persons, the corresponding figures for summary trial are 3,769 and 43,095 respectively, and appealable sentence passed on a summary trial having no practical value, as shown above, we may take 3769 appealable sentences as non-appealable, and hence non-appealable sentences amount to 66,846 against 34,574 or 66 per cent. against 34. According to High Court's annual statement 4, the figures for non-appealable sentence for the whole presidency including Calcutta, are 82 per cent. against 18 per cent. for appealable sentence.

8. While the procedure for criminal proceedings against the indigenous population of the country is far different from what it ought to be, the special procedure for proceedings against Europeans and Americans as embodied in Chapter XXXIII of the Criminal Procedure Code is far more satisfactory, being based on

natural conditions, applicable to them, though in framing the procedure for the indigenous population, their natural conditions were not taken into account. The object of the summary procedure and of the restriction imposed on the right of appeal by convicted persons is evidently to reduce the work of the magistrates and of the appellate courts, and when these provisions were inserted, the interest of the accused was overlooked.

9. Provincial statement A of the High Court's report for 1916 shows that 2,36,211 offences were reported to the courts outside Calcutta, both under the Penal Code and the special and local laws, and of this number, 49,211 cases were dismissed under section 203 C.P.C., without a process against the accused being allowed. It is difficult to believe that so many complaints were made without just grievance in every one of them. There are magistrates who dismiss cases under this section, because they think them to be petty or to please similar views of the inspecting officers; but whether petty or not, justice should be done in all cases.

10. The High Court's report does not show duration of cases before the magistrate, and the High Court's circular on the subject counts duration from the date of appearance of the accused, and not from the date of institution of the case. Provincial statement F, however, gives some idea, as it shows that 5,45,860 witnesses appeared before the magistrates outside Calcutta and they were discharged as follows:—

1st day	...	...	3,99,541
2nd day	...	...	1,04,629
3rd day	...	...	31,632
After 3rd day	...	...	10,058

5,45,860

and this was after the appearance of the accused, or after the process against him had been granted. The delay that occurs before a complainant can obtain a process may be inferred from the practice obtaining at a certain station. Here, some 4000 direct complaints are made before the magistrate and under section 202 C.P.C. about 50 per cent of them are sent to the Chaukidari union president for enquiry and report; some cases are sent to the circle officers for this purpose, and in some cases, the complainant is called upon to

prove his case before a process is allowed. This free use of section 202 C.P.C. shows that sitting at a central place, the magistrate is unable to decide merely on hearing the complaint whether he should or should not allow a process and this also shows the absolute necessity of a local agency. There is then generally a great delay in the receipt of reports from the Presidents and as the report is called for and received from a single person, it is challenged by the complainant, if it is not favourable to him, and he has then to prove his case by evidence, and when a magistrate has dismissed a case on insufficient grounds, the complainant has to move the superior court, if he has the means to do so; now, it may be imagined what delay occurs before a complainant can get a process against the accused.

11. The cases coming before and triable by the magistrate may in the light of the present provision in the law be divided into two classes, important and unimportant. The cases triable by the third class and the second class magistrates are generally unimportant and such unimportant cases are also largely tried by the first class magistrates. The figures given in paragraph 7 of this note for appealable and non-appealable sentences passed give some idea as to the relative importance of cases. There can be no doubt that the cases tried under the regular procedure in which a non-appealable sentence is passed and the cases tried under the summary procedure are looked upon by the authorities as unimportant; but every case is important to the persons concerned.

The figures given at para 5 of the High Court's report for magisterial courts outside Calcutta in respect to punishments show that important cases are few compared with unimportant cases. Thus:—

	persons.
1. Fine without imprisonment ...	74,490
2. Whipping, sole punishment ...	402
3. Simple imprisonment ...	810
	<hr/>
	77,702
4. Rigorous imprisonment ...	16,502
	<hr/>
	94,223

and rigorous imprisonment shows the following distribution:—

	persons.
Terms not exceeding 15 days ...	3,496
" " 6 months ...	11,129
" " 2 years ...	6,087
" exceeding 2 years ...	33
	<hr/>
	20,745

Separate details for punishment of fine for courts outside Calcutta are not available, but statement 5 gives the following figures for courts including those at Calcutta:—

	persons.
Fine not exceeding Rs. 10 ...	1,37,608
" " " 50 ...	15,809
" " " 100 ...	1,670
" exceeding Rs. 100 ...	396
	<hr/>
	1,55,483

There is no separate return to show details of offences reported to the courts outside Calcutta. The statement 2 of the High Court return which is for the whole presidency including Calcutta shows that 1,71,531 offences were reported in 1916 under the Penal Code. Most of these offences were unimportant. Some of these unimportant items are noted below:—

1. Offences affecting safety ...	2,870
2. Hurt without aggravating circumstances ...	21,703
3. Criminal force or assault ...	29,915
4. Theft without aggravating circumstances ...	33,755
5. Mischief without ditto ...	15,365
6. Criminal trespass ...	31,887
7. Criminal intimidation, insult or annoyance ...	2,270
	<hr/>
	1,37,765

Under special and local laws 158,540 offences were reported, but many of these laws apply to Calcutta alone, though there can be no doubt that most of these offences were unimportant.

12. The income per head of population in India is "not more than Rs. 27" per annum according to Lord Cromer, and if the income of the rich people, both European and Indian, are excluded from the calculation, the average income will come down considerably. Poor people only are generally connected with criminal cases. Now, according to High Court's report for 1916, statement I, the receipts of the courts outside Calcutta were Rs. 13,03,381, and the charges were Rs. 24,48,105. No details for these figures

are available. Details on page 11 of the report are given for the whole Presidency including Calcutta and these are :—

RECEIPTS		Rs.
1. Process fees ... ..	...	1,60,260
2. Copying and comparing fees	...	1,72,219
3. Court fees other than above	...	3,70,700
4. Miscellaneous receipts ...	...	73,880
		7,77,059
5. Fines ... ..	...	8,07,401
		15,84,460
CHARGES :—		
1. Salaries of judicial officers ...	...	14,93,203
2. Fixed and temporary copying establishment ...	...	1,49,773
3. Process servers ...	...	72,435
4. Other establishments ...	...	4,01,688
5. Contingencies and reports ...	...	4,99,670
Total ...		26,18,769

The object of the administration of criminal justice is to enforce morality among the people, and to prevent oppression, and it is a question why the entire cost of such administration should not be borne by the State, it being met from the general revenue raised by direct taxation. The first three items on the receipt side, however, show an additional realization of Rs. 7,03,179 in the shape of special fees, and further, item No. 1 after deduction of item No. 3 on the expenditure side shows a net profit of Rs. 87,825 and item no. 2 after deduction of item No. 2 on the expenditure side shows a net profit of Rs. 22,846, these two items showing a total profit of Rs. 1,10,671. Item No. 3 on the receipt side evidently represents the value of court fees paid on account of petitions made before the courts. Besides all this, people connected with criminal cases have to incur miscellaneous expenses, unaccountable, but not inconsiderable, and sums paid to the lawyers are also heavy, as, under present conditions, no criminal case can be properly prosecuted or contested without legal help. There are three stages for incurring expenses :— The first stage is the subordinate magistrate's court, the next higher stage is the district magistrate's court and the court of the sessions judge, and the last stage is the High Court. Statement 4 of the High Court's report for 1916 shows that appealable sentence, both on regular trial

and summary trial, was passed in respect to 40,838 persons, and statement 6 of the report shows that about 13,364 (14,208 — 838) persons or 33 per cent. only appealed and the rest of the persons did not appeal, evidently for want of means.

13. The facts disclosed above show on the whole that (1) the machinery of administration is, for practical purposes, far different from what it ought to be; (2) this machinery is too costly for the means of the people and also for the nature of the work that is generally required to be done; (3) the present procedure is dilatory and harassing and does not admit of proper justice being done, and it entails on the parties concerned charges too heavy to be borne; (4) the participation of the village agency in the work is an absolute necessity.

14. In order to remove the present evils and to make the administration popular, the following appears to be the best system.

(1) The creation of a village court for each chaukidari union area and a special court for each maffasil municipal area, in a manner to take the place of the old panchayat.

(2) Each such court to be composed of 5 to 9 members according to the circumstances of each particular area.

(3) Cases which are now considered unimportant (but every one of which however is important to the parties concerned) should be made over to these courts. Thus, about three-fourths of the entire case work will be done by them.

(4) Important cases only should be tried by the stipendiary magistrates and this, with the aid of jurors or assessors.

(5) There should be no appeal in cases tried by the village or municipal court, except in certain cases on points of law only.

(6) Similarly, the right of appeal in cases tried by the stipendiary magistrates with the help of jurors or assessors should be restricted.

(7) The summary procedure should be altogether abolished.

(8) The subordinate magistrates should all be natives of the province and recruited from the pleaders practising at the bar, by a competitive examination, and no one should be appointed, whose age is below 30 years; and the posts in each commissioner's division should be

competed for and filled by the natives of that division only.*

15. This system will admit of far better and speedier justice being done than now, and with much less cost and troubles to the persons concerned. It will also make it possible to separate from executive functions a sufficient number of officers entirely for criminal work and make them directly subordinate to the High Court, just as the munsiffs now are, without additional cost, and rather it may be possible to effect large savings by reducing the staff of officers on account of reduction of work arising from the creation of the village and municipal courts.

CIVIL.

1. Under the present law, the administration of Civil Justice in the courts of the lower grade in the munsiff is carried on by officers called Munsiffs, and justice in the court of the next higher grade, both original and appellate, is administered by officers called Subordinate Judges. The Munsiffs are appointed by nomination from among the pleaders who are supposed to have three years' practice to their credit, but many of whom, in reality, have hardly any business at the bar. The Subordinate Judges are appointed by promotion from among the Munsiffs, and generally at an age when they have lost much vitality and capacity for work.

2. Under the present system, these Judicial Officers are confronted with all sorts of inevitable and insurmountable obstacles in the matter of right adjudication of cases coming before them. They have to sit singly and thus to depend entirely on the resources of their own brain, because there is no provision in the law for trial with the aid of jurors. They are posted to places other than their own districts, where the people whose disputes they are required to settle are strangers to them; not only are they ignorant of the men appearing before them as suitors and witnesses, they are also necessarily to some extent ignorant of their manners and customs, and of local conditions, though a knowledge of all these things is so very essential for proper performance of the

responsible work entrusted to them. Some officers show very lamentable ignorance of common principles of law, and incapacity to understand easy facts.

The result of litigation, under these circumstances, depends generally, not so much on the merits of cases, as on the relative intelligence, and capacity and also idiosyncrasies of individual officers. Different officers are found to take different views of exactly similar cases, each being led by his own fixed ideas, which they tightly carry with them wherever they go, whether these are applicable or not to those places. Many officers are ever anxious simply to hurry on, in order to win credit by turning out the largest number of disposals within the shortest time according to each individual officers' own calculation, and so, such officers are unwilling to try cases with reasonable care and patience; they are more impatient and careless in respect to cases tried under the small cause court powers, as in cases so tried there is no appeal; they are similarly impatient in respect to possessory suits under section 9 of the Specific Relief Act, for there is no right of appeal in such cases also, though these are tried under the ordinary procedure. In possessory suits, many officers go to the length of not recording the evidence properly. There are, no doubt, some good officers, but they also labour under the natural disadvantages specified above. Thus, litigation sometimes becomes a sort of gambling, pure and simple. Good cases are lost and bad cases, even false ones, are won. Under the present unnatural system, miscarriage of justice often occurs and this is one of the reasons for gradual increase in litigation, which is working great evil among the population.

3. Owing to pressure of work, there are frequent adjournments in contested suits. These adjournments are very costly and harassing to the suitors, and no less harassing to their witnesses, who have to neglect their own affairs in order to make repeated appearances before the court. The final disposal of cases takes a long time. According to paragraph 29 of the High Court's Civil administration report for 1916, the average duration of suits tried under the ordinary procedure was, in contested suits, 444 days before the Subordinate Judges and 210 days before the Munsiffs, and in uncon-

* This would be objectionable for many reasons. The logical outcome of the principle here advocated would be to advocate the appointment, in a district or subdistrict, of only such men as are natives of the district or sub-district.—Editor, *M.R.*

tested suits, 267 days before the former and 152 days before the latter. The title suits, when contested, generally take a year, more or less, in coming to a close before the Munsiff, and these take much longer time before the Subordinate Judges; a contested title suit from the date of institution before the lower court till the decision of the lower appellate court covers about three years and it takes about two years more before the High Court, thus about five years in all. About the same period is covered by contested title suits instituted before the Subordinate Judge. This lengthy procedure throttles the litigants to death, as it were.

4. The cost of litigation is very high, ruinous to many and it is also prohibitive to as many. Some people on account of the heavy costs involved cannot go to the law court at all and suffer their wrongs in silence; others manage to place their cases somehow or other before the lower court but are unable to go to the appellate court. Most of those who do go to the appellate court in the end find themselves ruined men. The litigants have to pay large sums to their lawyers and have also to incur other miscellaneous expenses, not inconsiderable, all these sums not being reckoned as costs of the suits recoverable from the other party. The sums paid into court under different heads are very large and out of all proportion to the means of the people, whose income per head per annum is Rs. 20 or "not more than Rs. 27." According to paragraph 53 of the High Court's report for 1916, the receipts of the civil courts in Bengal and of the High Court amounted to Rs. 1,50,48,365. The charges were Rs. 58,10,457. The net profit to Government was thus Rs. 92,37,908. One of the most noticeable items of receipts is the process fees, which amounted to Rs. 27,91,347, while the cost of the process serving establishment was Rs. 5,51,917 only, leaving a net profit of Rs. 22,39,628 under this one item alone. The receipts from court fees were Rs. 1,13,75,043.

5. The Munsiffs are, as a rule, invested with powers to record evidence in English. Some officers are so deficient in English that they cannot properly record the deposition of witnesses in that language, and the result is that they leave out things which they cannot translate into English or they write one thing for another. Some officers

are found unable to write in English a proper judgment. The practice of giving powers to record evidence in English should be discontinued, as in all fairness, depositions of witnesses should be recorded only in the language in which these are given; otherwise, the evidence loses much of its value.

6. The result of appeals is as uncertain as that of the original suits. There are frequent adjournments in the appellate court also. The Subordinate Judges hear most of the appeals, and many of them on account of old age and loss of capacity for work find it convenient to dispose of the work by confirming the decrees of the Munsiff. As to the District Judge, he being a foreigner, has natural disadvantages and he has also not enough time to devote to the patient hearing of appeals, and the Civilian Additional Judges, besides labouring under natural disadvantages, are too junior to hear appeals from decrees of Indian officers who are senior to them in service by several years. For these reasons the results of appeals are in good many cases not what they ought to be.

7. Statement G of the High Court's report shows that in 1916, the Munsiffs disposed of 2,60,475 money suits out of which 70,843 or 27 per cent were tried under the ordinary procedure and 1,89,632 or 73 per cent under the summary procedure under which no appeal lies. Of the money suits disposed of, 56,252 suits or 21 per cent only were contested. The number of rent suits disposed of was 3,42,332 out of which only 51,999 or 15 per cent were contested. 63,107 title suits were disposed of and out of this number 17,554 suits or 28 per cent were contested. Of the total number of suits disposed of, 5,40,109 were uncontested and 1,25,805 or 19 per cent were contested. For this work, there were 245 Munsiffs on a monthly pay of Rs. 200 to Rs. 500, the annual cost being Rs. 9,16,800. There ought to be a cheaper arrangement for disposal of *ex parte* suits.

8. Statement F shows that the judges and the additional judges and the subordinate judges disposed of 38,424 original suits of which only 8,660 or 21 per cent were contested and the regular appeals disposed of were 16,775 of which 13,720 were contested. For this work, we had 37 District Judges on a monthly salary of Rs. 2,000 to 3,000, costing Rs. 10,20,000

a year and we had 49 Subordinate Judges on a salary of Rs. 600 to 1,000 a month or Rs. 4,20,000 a year, the total annual salaries being Rs. 14,40,000.

9. Statement D shows that 4,41,062 applications for execution of decrees were disposed of; in 1,19,137 cases the decrees were wholly satisfied; in 74,156, there was partial satisfaction and 2,47,769 were wholly infructuous, this shewing judgment debtors' inability to pay, that being evidence of extreme poverty.

10. As shewn above, the cost of civil justice is very high and out of all proportion to the means of the people. The present system of administration of civil justice which is too elaborate for our poor country and some of the defects of which are pointed out above, has been tried for a long time, and now some reforms are absolutely needed. The first columns of the imperial annual statements 2 and 3 show existence of "unpaid tribunals" and "village courts" in India, though these do not appear to exist in Bengal. Following this principle of unpaid agency, the old panchayat is the only best system hitherto evolved which should be revived in Bengal, the panchayat being given a proper share of the civil work. Thus, it will be possible to greatly reduce the work of the paid machinery and also to altogether abolish the present small cause court procedure for trial of money suits, which is so much open to objection, and this system will enable people to obtain speedy and far better justice than now. The panchayat might well be given suits of all kinds up to the value of Rs. 50, and thus, they would have 4,00,000 suits out of 7,00,000 instituted. However a beginning may be made with money suits only, suits of other kinds being given them later on with growing experience. The annual statement 3 for 1916 shews the institution of 2,96,593 money suits up to the value of Rs. 500 with 2,26,958 suits under small cause court powers and 69,635 suits under

ordinary powers. Out of these suits, 1,41,654 were of value not exceeding Rs. 50 each and this number may safely be made over to the panchayat at present. There should be no right of appeal in cases tried by the panchayat. The Munsiffs should try all contested suits with the aid of jurors and in money and rent suits so tried, there should be no right of appeal when the value of the suit does not exceed Rs. 200, except on points of law. Similarly, there should be no right of appeal in title suits so tried by the Munsiffs when the value does not exceed Rs. 50 except of course on points of law. The superior courts should also try all contested original suits with the aid of jurors, some sort of restriction being imposed on the right of appeal. This system will, in various ways, give great relief to the people as well as to the paid machinery. The panchayat being composed of local men (5 to 9 members) will be in a proper position to administer speedy and substantial justice, the work being a part of the village administration, which is now so much desired to be carried on by the people themselves.

11. The Munsiffs should be appointed by a system of competitive examination, in which special stress should be laid on the candidates' ability to frame issues with reference to given complaints and written statements, and to write judgments with reference to some given records of cases. No one should be appointed a Munsiff whose age is below 30 years, as considering the importance of the judicial functions, such men should only be appointed as have gained some experience of life.

12. The profit arising from civil litigation should, for the present, be used in extending primary education, the importance of which is now admitted by all, whether officials or non-officials, it not being used for purposes of general administration as at present.

JUSTICE.

HINDU ACHIEVEMENT IN EXACT SCIENCE

(Continued from the last number)

VIII. ASTRONOMY.

ASTRONOMICAL lore is probably as old as mankind. Elementary knowledge about the celestial bodies and meteorological phenomena is common to the

races of antiquity, e.g., Chaldaeans, Egyptians, Chinese, Hindus, and Greeks, as well as to all primitive races of men. That, however, is not to be regarded as forming the science of astronomy, unless

the epoch of mere observation be lifted up to the level of an epoch of science.

The cultivation of astronomy, as science, after it began as such, did not make less progress among the Hindus than among the Greeks under Hipparchus (c 150 B.C.) and Ptolemy (A.D. 139).

1. Lunar zodiac : The earliest astronomy of the Hindus is believed to have been borrowed from the Babylonians. This was the conception of the lunar zodiac with twenty-seven "nakshatras" (constellations). But this elementary division of the sky, suggested by the passage of the moon from any point back to the same point, may have been original to the Hindu priests, as Colebrooke and Max Muller believe. The Saracens, however, learned their "manzil" (twenty-eight constellations) from the Hindus in the eighth century.

2. Dodecameries : Aryabhata (A. D. 476) knew of the division of the heavens into twelve equal portions or "dodecameries." This zodiacal division came down from the Babylonians to the Greeks about 700 B.C. (?). But it was only by the first century B.C. that the Greeks had twelve separate signs for the twelve divisions. Aryabhata named the twelve divisions by words of the same import, and represented them by the figures of the same animals, as the Greeks. The Hindu zodiac, if it is a foreign import, seems thus to be derived from the Greek and not from the Babylonian.

3. Rotation, 4. Eclipses : Aryabhata knew the truth that the earth revolves on its axis. The true cause of solar and lunar eclipses also was explained by him.

5. Epicycles : The hypothesis of the epicycles in accounting for the motions of the planets and in calculating their true places was the greatest generalization of Hipparchus. This was discovered by the Hindus also. But according to Burgess, "the difference in the development of this theory in the Greek and the Hindu systems of Astronomy precludes the idea that one of these people derived more than a hint respecting it from the other."

6. Annual precession of the equinoxes, 7. Relative size of the sun and the moon as compared with the earth, 8. The greatest equation of the center for the Sun : With regard to these calculations the Hindus "are more nearly correct than the Greeks." (Burgess).

9. Times of the revolutions of the planets : With regard to these, the Hindus are "very nearly as correct" as the Greeks, "it appearing from a comparative view of the sidereal revolutions of the planets that the Hindus are most nearly correct in four items, Ptolemy in six." (Burgess)

10. The determination of the lunar constants entering into the calculation of lunar periods and eclipses reached a remarkable degree of approximation (much above Graeco-Arab computations) to the figures in Laplace's Tables. (Seal).

There is no doubt that the Hindus were acquainted with Greek astronomy and its merits. Varaha-mihira's (A.D. 587) candid acknowledgment of the fact that this science is "well established" among the "barbarian" Yavanas (Ionians i.e., Greeks) leaves no doubt on the point. The only question is about the amount and period of influence.

According to Burgess there was "very little astronomical borrowing between the Hindus and the Greeks." It is difficult to see precisely what the Hindus borrowed, "since in no case do the numerical data and results in the systems of the two peoples exactly correspond."

A certain amount of foreign help may have given an impetus to the science in India. But the loan was thoroughly Hinduized. According to Whitney, the Indians assimilated the Greek astronomy by

(i) the substitution of sines for chords, and

(ii) the general substitution of an arithmetical for a geometrical form.

On the strength of subsequent developments, Seal claims that Hindu astronomy was not less advanced than that of Tycho Brahe. (1546-1601).

Werner quotes passages to indicate that Hindu astronomical instruments were introduced into China. According to Mikami, Hindu astronomers served the Chinese Government on the Astronomical Board, sometimes even as President (seventh century and after). Chinese translations of Sanskrit works like "Brahman Heavenly Theory" are also recorded. Several calendars were modelled on the Hindu, e.g., probably the one by Itsing (683-727). During the eighth century Hindu astronomy was introduced among the Saracens also, as noticed above.

IX. PHYSICS.

Playfair makes the following remarks with regard to Greek physics :

"Nothing like the true system of natural philosophy was known to the ancients. There are nevertheless to be found in their writings many brilliant conceptions, several fortunate conjectures, and gleams of light, which were afterwards to be so generally diffused."

The same remark may be made, generally speaking, about Hindu physics. Both in methodology and achievements it exhibits almost the same strength and limitations as the Greek. But probably the attempts of the Hindu physicists were more comprehensive, and more co-ordinated with investigations in other branches of knowledge than those of the Greeks.

Some hypothesis of nature, i. e., of matter and energy, constituted the positive basis of each of the principal schools of Hindu philosophy, including metaphysics. The idea of a real "natural philosophy" was never absent from the intellectual horizon even of those who believed that "the proper study of mankind is man." There was no system of thought without its own physico-chemical theory of atoms, its own "laws of nature," and so forth. The most idealistic school had thus its own "materialistic" background. And the method of investigation, if not fully that of Baconian "experimental" induction, was more fruitful and "experimental" than that of Aristotelian speculative logic.

Problems in natural philosophy, which engaged the attention of every thinker in India, were of the kind described below :

1. The theory of atoms and molecular combinations. It is generally associated with the name of Kanada, the founder of Vaisheshika philosophy. He has therefore been called the Democritus of India. Strictly speaking, there were almost as many atomic theories as the schools of Hindu thought. One or two may be mentioned :

(a) Vaisheshika system : "The doctrine of atomism did not take its rise in Greece, but in the East. It is found in the Indian philosophy. Kanada.....could not believe matter to be infinitely divisible..... Matter consists of ultimate indivisible atoms, which are indestructible and eternal.....Explaining the universe by chance or necessity, it tends to materialism or atheism." (Fleming in "The Dic-

tionary of Philosophy.") Atoms cannot exist in an uncombined state in creation.

(b) Jaina system : The atoms are not only infinitesimal, but also eternal and ultimate. Atomic linking, or the mutual attraction (or repulsion) of atoms in the formation of molecules was analysed by Umasvati (A. D. 50) with a most remarkable effect. According to Seal, the Jainas hold that the different classes of elementary substances are all evolved from the same primordial atoms. "The intra-atomic forces which lead to the formation of chemical compounds do not therefore differ in kind from those that explain the original linking of atoms to form molecules."

2. General properties of matter : These were analysed and defined not only by Kanada and his school, but also by the Jainas, Buddhists, and other rivals and contemporaries. A few such concepts were elasticity, cohesiveness, impenetrability, viscosity, fluidity, porosity, etc. Capillary motion was illustrated by the ascent of the sap in plants from the root to the stem, and the penetrative diffusion of liquids in porous vessels. Upward conduction of water in pipes was explained by the pressure of air.

3. The doctrine of motion : Motion was conceived in almost every school of thought as underlying the physical phenomena of sound, light, and heat. This motion was known to be not only molar and molecular, but also the subtle motion lodged in the atoms themselves, i. e., the very principle of matter-stuff.

4. Time and Space : In order to be precise and definite in their calculations the Hindus conceived infinitesimally small magnitudes of time and space. In the absence of finer instruments of measurement the very attempt to distinguish from one another the varying grades of "least perceptible" sound, light, heat, time, etc., must be regarded as remarkable. An atom ("truti") of time was equal to $\frac{1}{33\frac{1}{2} \times 10^6}$ of a second. The thickness of the minimum visible ("trasarenu"), e. g., the just perceptible mote in the sunbeam was known to be $\frac{1}{349515}$ of an inch. The size of an atom was conceived to be less than $\pi \cdot 3 \cdot 5^{-1} \cdot 2 \cdot 6_2$ of a cubic inch. "Curiously enough, this is fairly comparable (in order of magnitude) with the three latest determinations of the size of the hydrogen atom !" (Seal). No unit of velocity seems

to have been fixed upon. But average velocity was measured in accordance with the formula $v = \frac{s}{t}$. These measurements

were not arbitrary poetic guess-works. It is on the basis of these that a remarkably accurate measurement of the relative pitch of musical tones was made, and the instantaneous motion of a planet determined (and thus the principle of the differential calculus discovered).

5. The doctrine of conservation: Both matter and energy were known to be indestructible. But though constant, they were known to be liable to addition and subtraction, growth and decay, i.e., to changes in collocation. This transformation was known to be going on constantly.

The following ideas about matter and energy may be gleaned from the writings of the Hindus. Some of these should be regarded as real contributions to knowledge, though not demonstrated according to the modern methods of exact science.

(a) Heat:

(i) Light and heat were known to Kanada as different forms of the same substance.

(ii) Solar heat was known to Udayana as the source of all the stores of heat.

(iii) Heat and light rays were believed by Vachaspati (A.D. 850) to consist of very minute particles emitted rectilinearly by the substances.

(iv) Rarefaction in evaporation and the phenomenon of ebullition were correctly explained by Shamkara Mishra.

(b) Optics:

(i) The phenomena of translucency, opacity, shadows, etc., were explained by Udyotakara.

(ii) The angle of incidence was known to be equal to the angle of reflection. This was known to the Greeks also.

(iii) The phenomenon of refraction was known to Udyotakara.

(iv) The chemical effects of light rays were known to Jayanta.

(v) Lens and mirrors of various kinds, spherical and oval, were used for purposes of demonstration. Light rays were focussed through a lens on a combustible, like paper or straw. (The making and polishing of glass was a great industry in India. According to Pliny the best glass was that made by the Hindus.)

(c) Acoustics:

(i) Physical basis of sound: Two theories were held about the vehicle or medium of propagation. Shabara Swami knew it correctly to be the air. But Udyotakara and others knew it to be ether. (Seal).

(ii) Wave-motion: The sound-waves were understood by both schools. But Prashastapada knew them to be transverse; and Udyotakara and Shabara Swami understood the transmission of sound to be of the nature of longitudinal waves. (Seal).

(iii) Echoes were analyzed by Vijnanabhiksu.

(iv) Sounds were distinguished according to their tones and over-tones, volume or massiveness, and quality or timbre, by Batsyayana, Udyotakara, and Vachaspati (c A.D. 850).

(v) Musical notes and intervals were analyzed and mathematically calculated in the treatises on music, e.g., Sharamgadeva's "Samgita-ratnakara" ("Ocean of Music") (1210-47), Damodara's "Samgitadarpana" ("The Mirror of Music") (1560-1647), etc. The relative pitch of the notes of the diatonic scale was, according to Krishnaji Ballal Deval, in "Hindu Musical Scale," accurately determined. (Clements, and Fox-Strangways).

(vi) The Hindus followed just intonation. (Seal).

(d) Magnetism:

(i) Elementary magnetic phenomena could not but be observed. The attraction of grass, straw, etc., by amber, and the movement of the iron needle towards the magnet, were explained by Shamkara Misra as due to "adrista", i.e., unknown cause.

(ii) Bhoja (c 1050 A. D.) in his directions for shipbuilding gave the warning that no iron should be used in holding or joining together the planks of bottoms intended to be sea-going vessels. The fear was entertained lest the iron should expose the ships to the influence of magnetic rocks in the sea, or bring them within a magnetic field and so lead them to risks. (Radhakumud Mookerji).

(iii) Mariner's compass: Mookerji points out a compass on one of the ships in which the Hindus of the early Christian era sailed out to colonize Java and other islands in the Indian Ocean. The Hindu compass was an iron fish (called in Sanskrit "Matsya-yantra" or fish machine).

It floated in a vessel of oil and pointed to the north.

(e) Electricity: Most rudimentary electrical phenomena may have been noticed by Umasvati (50 A. D.). His theory of atomic linking was based on the idea that two atoms to be combined must have two opposite qualities. He believed that atoms attracted and repelled each other according as they were heterogeneous (i. e. unlike) and homogeneous (i. e., like) respectively.

X. CHEMISTRY.

Both in the East and the West chemistry was at first alchemy. It was principally a handmaid to the science or art of medicine, subsidiarily allied to metallurgy and industrial arts. Whatever be the worth of that chemistry according to the modern standard, the Hindu investigators could give points to their European peers. They were, besides, teachers of the Saracens.

Leaving aside the chemists or druggists in the medical schools of India, two great specialists in chemistry as such were Patanjali (second century B. C.) and Nagarjuna (early Christian era). Patanjali was also a philologist, his commentary on the famous grammar of Panini is well-known. His "Science of Iron" (Lohashastra) was a pioneer work in metallurgy. Nagarjuna's genius also was versatile. He is the patron-saint of alchemists. He is credited with having founded or rather systematised the philosophy of "rasa" (mercury).

Some of the achievements of the Hindu brain have been genuine contributions to chemical science. The Hindu chemical investigators of the fifth and sixth centuries A. D. (the age of Gupta-Vikramadityan Renaissance) were far in advance of Roger Bacon (thirteenth century). In fact, they anticipated by one millennium the work of Paracelsus (sixteenth century) and Libavius (seventeenth century). "The physico-chemical theories as to combustion, heat, chemical affinity were clearer, more rational, and more original than those of Van Helmont or Stahl." (Seal).

1. According to Prafulla Chandra Ray, the earliest Hindus knew of the distinction between green and blue vitriol. But Dioscorides, the Greek, and Pliny, the Roman, both belonging to the first century A. D., confounded the two. Even

Agricola's ideas were not clear (1494-1555).

2. The scientific pharmacy of Sushruta was modern. About the preparation of caustic alkali he was careful enough to give the direction that the strong lye is to be preserved in an iron vessel. It was far superior to the process of a Greek writer of the eleventh century who has been eulogised by Berthelot. (Ray).

According to Royle, the process of distillation was discovered by the Hindus.

4. By the sixth century the Hindu chemists were masters of the chemical processes of calcination, distillation, sublimation, steaming, fixation, etc. (Seal).

5. These processes were used by researchers of the Patanjali and Nagarjuna cycles in order to bring about chemical composition and decomposition, e.g.,

- (a) in the preparation of
 - (1) perchloride of mercury
 - (2) sulphide of mercury
 - (3) vermilion from lead, etc.
- (b) in the extraction of
 - (1) copper from sulphate of copper
 - (2) zinc from calamine
 - (3) copper from pyrites, etc.

6. The importance of the apparatus in chemical research is thus described in "Rasarnava" a work on chemistry of the eleventh century:

"For killing (oxidizing) and colouring mercury, an apparatus is indeed a power. Without the use of herbs and drugs, mercury can be killed with the aid of an apparatus alone. Hence an expert must not disparage the efficacy of the apparatus." (Ray's translation).

With this preamble the author introduced his account of the chemical laboratory, instruments, crucibles, etc.

7. In "Madanapala-nighantu," a work on drugs (fourteenth century), zinc was distinctly mentioned as a separate metal. Paracelsus was thus anticipated in India by about two hundred years.

8. The philosophy of mercury was a recognised branch of learning by the fourteenth century. It was one of the celebrated sixteen in Madhavacharya's collection of philosophical systems (1331). He mentioned 'Rasarnava' as a standard work on mercury.

9. "Rasa-ratna-samuchchaya" (treatise on mercury and metals) is a comprehensive work of the fourteenth century. It embodies practically the whole chemical,

mineralogical, and metallurgical knowledge of the Hindus developed through the ages. Like the "Brihat Samhita" (sixth century A.D.) by Varaha-mihira, it is a scientific encyclopaedia. It is specially remarkable for its section on the laboratory, directions for experiments, and description of apparatus.

10. The Hindus had no knowledge of mineral acids for a long period. But this defect was made up by their use of "Vida," which, says Ray, could "kill all metals." This was a mixture containing aqua regia and other mineral acids in potentia. The substance was probably discovered by Patanjali. (Seal). Mineral acids were discovered almost simultaneously both in India and Europe during the sixteenth century.

The debt of Europe to Saracen chemistry or alchemy is generally acknowledged by historians of science. (Thomson). This implies also Europe's debt to the Hindus; for they had taught these teachers of mediæval Europe.

Gebir, the earliest Saracen (Spanish) chemist (seventh-eighth century), was familiar with Hindu "rasayana" (alchemy and metallurgy, the seventh division of the science of life called Ayur-veda). He called carbonate of soda "sagimen vitri" from the Hindu name "sajji matti". He also knew "tutia," the Hindu name of copper-sulphate. (Wilson).

The Saracens themselves admitted their discipleship of the Hindu professors of medicine. Chemistry naturally passed along with the medical science from India into the Saracen Empire.

The famous Arabic encyclopaedia "Kitab al Fihrist" by Nadim (c 950) distinctly mentions the translation of Hindu medical works into Arabic under the patronage of Caliphs from Mansur to Mamun (c 750-850 A.D.). Saracen scholars of the thirteenth century, e.g., Haji Khalifa, also acknowledged what their predecessors had learnt from the schools of Hindu medicine.

The history of science requires therefore a revision, in the department of chemistry as in algebra, arithmetic, etc., in the light of facts from the Hindu angle of vision.

XI. METALLURGY AND CHEMICAL ARTS.

India was the greatest industrial power of antiquity. It was the manufactures of the Hindu, which, backed up by their commercial enterprize, served as standing

advertisements of India in Egypt, Babylo-
nia, Judaea, Persia, etc. To the Romans of the Imperial age and the Europeans of the Middle Ages, also, the Hindus were noted chiefly as a nation of industrial experts.

Some of the arts for which the people of India have had traditional fame are those connected with (1) bleaching, (2) dyeing, (3) calico-printing, (4) tanning, (5) soap-making, (6) glass-making, (7) manufacture of steel, (8) gun-powder and fire-works and (9) preparation of cement. All these imply a knowledge of industrial chemistry.

1. Patanjali, the founder of Hindu metallurgy, (second century B. C.) gave elaborate directions for many metallurgic and chemical processes, especially the preparation of metallic salts, alloys, amalgams, etc., and the extraction, purification and assaying of metals. (Seal).

2. During the fourth century the Hindus could forge a bar of iron, says Fergusson, "larger than any that have been forged even in Europe up to a very late date, and not frequently even now."

3. Gun-powder "may have been introduced into China from India" about the fifth or sixth century A. D. (Journal of the North China Branch of R.A.S., New Series, vi, 82).

4. The secret of manufacturing the so-called Damascus blades was learnt by the Saracens from the Persians, who had mastered it from the Hindus. (Royle). In Persia, the Indian sword was proverbially the best sword, and the phrase "jawabee hind" ("Indian answer") meant "a cut with the sword made of Indian steel."

5. During the sixth century the Hindu chemists could prepare—

- (i) fixed or coagulated mercury,
- (ii) a chemical powder, the inhalation of which would bring on sleep or stupor,
- (iii) a chemically prepared stick or wick for producing light without fire,
- (iv) a powder, which, like anaesthetic drugs or curare, paralyzes sensory and motor organs.

6. The horticulturists of the same period were familiar with several mixtures and infusions, probably struck upon empirically, for supplying the requisite nitrogen compounds, phosphates, etc., to plants.

7. The metallurgists of the same period were familiar with the processes of extraction, purification, killing (formation of

oxides, chlorides, and oxy-chlorides), calcination, incineration, powdering, solution, distillation, precipitation, rinsing, drying, melting, casting, filing, etc.

With the help of apparatus and reagents they subjected each of the known minerals to all these processes. Heat was applied in different measures for different ends. (Seal).

8. So early as the sixth century the mercurial operations alone were nineteen in number.

Pliny, the Roman of the first century A.D., noticed the industrial position of the Hindus as paramount in the world. India maintained the same position even in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, when the modern European nations began to

come into intimate touch with her. This long standing industrial hegemony of the Hindus was due to their capacity for harnessing the energies of Nature to minister to the well-being of man. They made several important discoveries in chemical technology. These have been generalized by Seal into three:

- (1) the preparation of fast dyes,
- (2) the extraction of the principle of indigotin from the indigo by a process, which, though crude, is essentially an anticipation of modern chemical methods,
- (3) the tempering of steel.

(To be concluded).

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR.

THOUGHTS ON POETRY

I.

THE most wonderful thing about the universe is that the proportion of beauty and joy is no less than that of law and necessity in its composition. It has been said and said truly that necessity is the mother of invention; for, indeed, man has been engaged since the beginning of his existence to discover the laws of Nature and to adjust them to his physical and social needs. The forces of Nature had inspired his awe and worship before he came to realize their true character by the help of his intellect and reason. For a long time, he could hardly feel that his own mind was immensely and immeasurably superior to the awful forces of Nature before which he cowered like a thing afraid and appeared to be quite feeble and helpless.

Now, although science has taught man the lesson that the laws of Nature are inexorable and are absolutely dissociated from the feelings and affections of man, that the natural order and the spiritual order are different, yet man has not remained content with that knowledge but has been persistently investing Nature with human attributes and feelings. Even such physical needs as hunger and thirst

which man shares along with other animals, have not detracted in the least from his belief that he is really a spirit, although temporarily lodged in the tement of flesh. The body of the universe, he believes, to be an expansion of his own little body; it is one with him. And the theory of evolution brings into his mind that conviction of unity. The primordial cell must have been imbued and surcharged with spirit, when it began its journey mounting upwards and upwards into the higher complexities of organic life. The primordial atom or electron must similarly have been a symbol of the spirit, for certainly the inanimate and the animate must be linked somewhere together in one chain of evolution. The gap between spirit and matter, between the natural and the spiritual order must be filled up. This intuition has been giving birth to new theories in science: it has been ruling modern thought in all its developments.

The intuition, spoken above, is an intuition of all poets and is, therefore, at the foundation of all great poetry. Before science brought together the 'missing links' in Nature and apprehended all life and perhaps, non-life also, to be in a process of evolution and continuity, poets had felt in their heart of hearts that Nature and man

are bound in one. How? Because they had perceived "joy in the widest commonalty spread"; they had had an apprehension of the "sense of something far more deeply interfused." The world is not merely a machine which supplies to man his various needs; it is overflowing with joy and beauty. If fruits and herbs were simply 'uncooked vegetables' to satisfy the animal appetite of man, they would not be so lovely to the view. Why such a luxuriance of colour and scent, such an exuberance of form and music, such unnecessary extravagance in Nature, if the economy of Nature is much greater than her poetry? That the colour of the flower is only an advertisement to insects to come and fertilise it, is a very unsatisfactory explanation. For, not the colour alone but the form of the flower is artistically exquisite; the arrangement of its petals, the lovely design, is magnificent. Is that also an allurement to the insect world? Science deals with laws, it cannot deal with beauty. The poets declare that the world is not bound by law merely, it is full of love and beauty. Of course, the science of beauty is rhythm and may be studied as a part of mathematics, but alas, merely the knowledge of the laws of rhythm apart from the enjoyment of form and rhythm is like reading the rules of grammar without learning the language itself.

But perhaps I am doing some injustice to science by comparing it to grammar and by calling it indirectly an abstract thing. Science is progressive; it is still groping and floundering in its alleys of specialization for a wider opening into the highroad of universal principles. In fact, the process of filiation through the various specialized sciences of physics, chemistry, biology, etc., has recently begun. There is a persistent endeavour to reduce all variety into a unity. But as the new theories of matter point out, the final unity is nowhere to be discerned in science. For life and matter are dynamic. Life moves on from cycle to cycle, from one series to another. Matter is also in a flux. These new theories are breaking down the old walls of absolutism in philosophy also.

Poetry has something in common with this attitude of science and philosophy towards life and the universe. In the world of intuition and emotion, with which poetry deals, the same process of

movement and flux goes on. Poetry has been defined as a 'criticism of life.' It is not criticism however; it is discovery. It discovers life and the world anew. The poetry of life and the poetry of the world, like life and matter as science investigates them, are ever moving and ever evolving and ever becoming. Poets, therefore, like scientists, are also engaged in discovering new contents of life and readjusting them with old views of life, old intuitions and emotions. Thus, the moods and emotions of man are becoming richer and deeper and more and more complex as poetry advances. It can easily be imagined that if poetry had been pinned to its old and everlasting themes, it would have repeated and repeated its burden and exhausted itself beyond retrieval. But because poetry is an expression of life and because life is seen to be changing incessantly, poetry is also in process of change. Just as old theories of science are knocked down and new theories prevail in their places, just as old schools of philosophy change yielding place to new, similarly old poetry and old art are ever dying into the new, having a new birth there.

While I am trying to show that poetry, science and philosophy are all working together in a common direction, I am fully cognizant of their respective functions, their independent spheres of activity. Science and philosophy have, for their end, the attainment of knowledge, and hence they have to build up concepts. Poetry has, for its end, joy, and hence it has to build up *Rasas*, or emotions and intuitions. Of course, I am keeping my attention confined to pure poetry and leaving out epic poetry and such other obsolete types from my field of enquiry. Reason and induction are more necessary to science; imagination and intuition more necessary to poetry. There are yet more serious differences. Science interprets the laws of nature and philosophy attempts to connect them with the life of the spirit seeking for the unity between the subject and the object. But poetry cares little for the laws of Nature; it uses the various objects of nature as symbols of moods and passions; it seeks to commune with the soul of Nature. Science and philosophy seek to prove and establish certain truths; poetry seeks to establish none. If it can evoke *Rasa*, it is satisfied.

The very language of poetry is a clear

and unmistakeable indication that at the bottom of all poetry is the intuition that the universe is one with the human spirit and that all things are related to one another in a mysterious bond of kinship. For the language of poetry abounds with metaphor, tropes and imagery. We are observing all kinds of semblances between outward objects and human emotions and interpreting one in terms of another. Apart from the technical language of poetry, in our ordinary everyday language, we cannot avoid figurative speech. It is not that we are forced to adopt imagery in order to express our thoughts clearly and cogently. The deeper reason seems to be that unconsciously we have come to realise that there is an inter-communication between the outer and the inner worlds, that we have somehow or other perceived that they are not worlds apart but have a likeness with each other. Therefore when we describe events that happen outside us, we describe them in terms of our own experiences and emotions, and again, when we describe the moods and experiences of our inner life, we have recourse to suggestions from outward nature. As soon as we are able to express ourselves with the help of imagery, we are happy. For then, the relationship between the world outside and the world within is fully established. The world flows into the heart with its streams of colour, scent and music and the heart flows out into the world with its streams of moods and emotions. The one tinges the other with its hues and the complex that shapes itself in the poet's personality is poetry, is art. It is because poetry is nothing but the resonances and reverberations of the poet's personality, therefore the richer and the more complex that personality is, the richer and the more complex poetry must be.

II.

There is a dispute in poetry as to whether the matter or the manner, the substance or the form of poetry is more essential. It seems to me to be a fruitless dispute, for in a sense, both are equally essential, and in another sense, none of them is essential. The form of poetry without the content is like the body without the mind and vice versa. So both are equally necessary. But, as I have said before, it is difficult in poetry to dissociate form from substance or

substance from form. They are indissolubly connected and form a living whole, which is poetry. They undergo a sort of chemical combination when poetry is being created. All great creations are the result of a conscious-unconscious process. The poet or the artist is seized by a mood—the mood is varying, being the complex of a body of experiences and feelings—some of them conscious, some passed below the plane of consciousness and memory, some ancestral and 'unconscious'—then, this whole complex of varying moods of conscious-unconscious elements flows out into expression and resolves itself into modes which we call poetic creation. Poetic creation is on the one hand, self-creation and on the other, creation of life. Poetry discovers, as it creates, new contents of life, new visions, new moods and at the same time discovers new relations of these with the world outside by the very effort of visualising the invisible mental workings with the help of imagery.

I take some simple illustrations from poetry in order to make my position clear. We all know that 'a thing of beauty is a joy for ever': every beautiful object in the world evokes in us some feeling, otherwise we cannot designate it as beautiful. But such feelings are indescribable. We feel them to be so, when we try to express them. The greatest poet of the world must also feel that he can never express such a feeling adequately. He may compose a thousand poems or songs in order to express it and each song may be more exquisite than its predecessor, still a sense of inadequateness will haunt him and urge him to fresh attempts. Take for instance, the beauty of autumn. Many poets have described it in golden verses but it is, by no means, an exhausted theme in poetry. The poet, Kalidasa, when he wrote his work 'Ritusamhar' or the 'Seasons' had, before his eyes, the same stretch of the blue sky of October with light and fluffy white clouds sailing across it, as we behold it today. He writes in one of his verses:—

"The clouds, stripped of rain, are light and white like silver and conch and the stem of the lotus flower.

As the breeze drives them on, the sky looks like a king, fanned by the regal fan of downy feathers."

But, is this image the only image to express the beauty of autumn? Surely not. Let us read the following lines from Keats' famous 'Ode to Autumn':—

"On a half-reap'd furrow sound asleep,
Drowsed with the fume of poppies, while thy hook
Spares the next swath and all its twin'd flowers."

These lines give us a completely different picture of autumn.

Autumn is the picture of plenitude itself. Thus, to the two poets, quoted above, two of the greatest poets of the world, autumn presents a different aspect of its beauty. The poet Kalidas was impressed by its grandeur and solemnity and to him, autumn was something majestic. Keats felt its luxuriance which almost overpowers one with sleep and sets one dreaming. He, therefore, compared it to a drowsy peasant.

It may be objected here, that good poetry is not always concerned with tropes or imagery of the above kind and I quite accept the validity of that objection. All that I desire to bring out is that in order to express the inexpressible intuitions, moods and emotions, poetry has sometimes to resort to tropes, but at the same time, it must be remembered that that is not the only type of expression. In poetry, types of expression are infinitely varied. There are poets who express themselves more in the language of symbols and imagery; there are also poets who express themselves more in the language of music. Some mix up both styles admirably. There are also poets, like Wordsworth, who are neither musical nor symbolical, but who express subtle spiritual experiences and wisdom in a language which no one can have the courage to pronounce as unpoetical. I have therefore said already that poetry is neither manner nor matter—it is the unconscious resolving of an indescribable mood into a wonderful mode, absolutely unique and original in its character. As new visions of life dawn on men's minds, types of poetry change and become more and more rare and varied. Even Wordsworth's spiritual poetry is not satisfactory; the moods that his poetry depicts are simpler and less rich in contents of life than those that are dealt with in modern poetry, say, in the 'Gitanjali' of Rabindranath Tagore.

I have said already that I am not concerned, in the present article, with the epic or any other class of poetry, which is not in vogue in modern times. I have spoken of the symbolical and the intuitional types of poetry but I have not yet spoken about poetry which springs from

musical inspiration. I believe that such poems are purely lyrical and they ought not to be read but sung in tunes or otherwise chanted. Burns' love-songs have been set in music, Moore's Irish melodies have also been. Of all English poets, Shelley seems to me to be the most musical and next to him, Tennyson and Swinburne. I am, therefore, of opinion that lyrics in which the song-element pre-eminently prevails, ought to form a class of poetry by themselves. There is a mood which we may call the musical mood and there is an emotion which may fitly be named musical emotion. The *sufi* literature abounds with *gazals* which come under this class of poetry. Poems of Kabir and Nanak, Vaishnava lyrics, and in fact, most of the poetical literature of India are song-poems. The bulk of Tagore's poetry also comes under the same category. But all the same, it must be said that emotions refuse to be classified in poetry, as in the gradual evolution of poetry they are becoming more and more complex and generalised.

We have had instances of poems on autumn symbolising its beauty in pictures. Let us have one instance of a song bearing on the beauty of autumn. I may quote that exquisite song of Tennyson:—

"Tears, idle tears, I know not what they mean
Tears from the depth of some divine despair
Rise in the heart, and gather to the skies
In looking on the happy Autumn fields
And thinking of the days that are no more."

The mood which the song quoted above presents is a mood of intense longing, a mood of sighs over some forgotten joy or over a dream that fleets away. It can therefore be best expressed in music, for such moods are real musical moods. There is no view of life, or idea or vision or anything of that kind underlying the song I have quoted; therefore, there is no need of symbolisation.

III.

There is a tradition about poetry that the main spring of it is inspiration. It is therefore said that poets are born, not made. There may be some amount of truth in it, but how would we interpret psychologically the phenomenon of inspiration in poetry?

The moods of poetry are generally those 'serene and blessed' moods 'when we are laid asleep in body and become a living soul' as Wordsworth says. In other

words, when we dive into the realm of the sub-conscious, when we allow streams of world-consciousness to flow into our being. We then see into the 'life of things'; we become all with the all. Persons who have never had the good fortune to sink their conscious selves into the ocean of Being, who have never felt for one moment that spark of divine intuition which removes the screen from the face of the world and lays bare the soul of the world before our soul, can never understand the mystery of creation. They can never realise why a mood of sorrow or a mood of joy should so much transport the poet that he falls almost into a trance and then he suddenly bursts into melodies, seeking to express the ineffable, striving to encase in picture or song the bird of dream which takes its flight from the unknown to the unknown.

In no other scripture of the world than the Hindu, God has been called the poet. In our Upanishads, He is called 'Kavi,' the poet. All creation springs from joy, says the Upanishad. God, in the Vedanta, is nameless and formless, unqualified and absolute in His essence. Yet, we have in the Vedanta, *Ananda-rupam Amritam yad vibhati*—whatever is manifest is His form of joy, His form of love. This manifestation of the Divine is the world, is His

creation, His poetry. The Divine poet, like the human poet, his beloved disciple, expresses the inexpressible, which is Himself. This self-expression can never cease. It flows from form to form, from series to series, from cycle to cycle, from the beginningless to the endless.

IV.

To conclude. In order to judge good poetry, we have to ask ourselves several questions. The first and the most important question is, what aspect of the inexpressible mystery is striving for expression through the poet we are going to read? What is his inspiration? Then, the next question is, whether his expression flows from form to form in an unending series of poetic creation? The last question will be, whether in all his variety, there is the suggestion of a Beyond bursting through the bonds of his own creation or whether he cries halt at a definite message or philosophy of life as the finality. If we apply the test of these questions to the works of any poet, we shall be able to declare whether he will have his place among the immortals, among the galaxy of stars that shine through all eternity.

AJITKUMAR CHAKRAVARTY.

HINDI OR HINDUSTHANI?

AT the first All-India Social Service Conference held on December 31, 1917, Mr. Gandhi, in his address, is reported to have expressed himself as follows:—"The greatest service we can render society is to free ourselves and it from the superstitious regard we have learnt to pay to the learning of the English language. . . . The first and the greatest social service we can render is to revert to our vernaculars, to restore Hindi to its natural place as the national language, and begin carrying on all our provincial proceedings in our respective vernaculars, and national proceedings in Hindi." The two sentences quoted above from the *Englishman* of January 3, 1918, may not be an exact version of what Mr. Gandhi

said, but there seems to be no reason to doubt the substantial accuracy of the version.

The sentiments expressed by Mr. Gandhi may, in their essence, be held by a large body of Mr. Gandhi's countrymen, though they may be as little disposed to accept the high colouring given them by Mr. Gandhi's use of superlatives and the like as to adopt his habit of going about barefooted in old orthodox Hindu fashion. The regard paid to the learning of English is no more superstitious than was the regard paid to the learning of Persian during Muhammadan rule in India. The former language, like the latter, came to be prized mainly as a means of making one's living, and the knowledge of the two

languages has long borne in Bengal the name of *arthakari bidya* (money-making knowledge). Persian in its time, besides being a help to make one's way in the world, was a means of culture, and so is English now in a much higher degree. English is of special value as being the key to a vast field of knowledge and as being the means likewise of communicating to the whole of the civilized world anything of high intellectual value that Indians may have to communicate. Sir Jagadishchandra Bose's great scientific discoveries and Sir Rabindranath Tagore's high-type poetry could not have got the world-wide publicity that they have got, if they had been confined within the narrow ring-fence of the Bengali language. Patriotism, like other strong emotions, has often a narrowing influence upon the mind, and Mr. Gandhi, whose mental and moral gifts we all admire, has not been able to resist this narrowing influence.

Newton wrote his *Principia* in Latin, that it might have access to the learned of Europe. Leibnitz and Frederick the Great wrote in French in the 18th century, German being not much known outside the limits of Germany till towards the end of Frederick's life. Writing in French by Germans continued to about the middle of the 19th century, Humboldt's *Asie Centrale* appearing in the year 1843. Writing in a foreign language is thus a necessity under certain circumstances. Our own Śankaracharyya was a Malabari Brahman, but he wrote and discoursed orally, not in his vernacular, but in Sanskrit.

What does Mr. Gandhi mean by our reverting to our vernaculars? Did we ever abandon them? We may rightly be asked to have a higher regard for them than we have had under centuries of foreign rule and of superstitious reverence for Sanskrit, this superstitious reverence having had the effect of burdening our vernaculars, as written, with heaps of unnecessary Sanskrit words. In the case of Urdu the superstitious reverence has been for Persian and Arabic. What is meant again by restoring Hindi to its natural place as the national language. Was Hindi, even if we understand by Hindi, not Hindi in its ordinary sense, but Hindusthani, ever anything like a national language for all India, though it may be said to have been on the way to become such, in conse-

quence of the spread of Muhammadan rule over the greater part of India.

It is sad to think of the obscuration of mental vision that is caused by the bias of patriotism even in men of such superior stamp as Mr. Gandhi is. Does Mr. Gandhi and other Indians of large mental calibre owe nothing to their knowledge of the English language? For the liberal political views which they are now the strenuous advocates of, are they noway indebted to the teachings of great English writers? To take a typical instance, elevation of the depressed classes in India now forms an important part of the political programme of Indian reformers. Has this idea been evolved in India by purely Indian thought and put forth in Sanskrit or in any Indian vernacular? The idea has come to us mainly from European currents of thought, though Islam, the most democratic of all widespread human creeds, has also hammered well the Hindu folly of social exclusiveness which has for ages kept large bodies of Indians outside the pale of Hindu society, as untouchables.

The special question of "Hindi" becoming the language for all "national proceedings" in India, demands discussion. First of all, the name *Hindi* calls for comment. The name is used loosely in several different senses.—(1) In the sense of the Hindi prose of the present day, which is the same in its grammar as Urdu and different from it only in using very sparingly even naturalised Persian and Arabic words, and in drawing all its culture words from Sanskrit, and also common words without necessity, as सूय (sūryya) for सूरज (sūraj); while Urdu draws all its culture words from Persian and Arabic, and also common words without necessity, as *jazīra* for *ṭāpū*.—(2) In the sense of the language of Tulsidas's Ramayan and other similar poetry, which is quite a different language from that of modern Hindi prose.—(3) In the sense of certain rustic dialects.—(4) In a sense including, as in the Census Returns, both Hindi (in the first sense) and Urdu.

The word *Hindi*, however, usually bears the implication of Devanagari or other Nagri character (the Kaithi particularly) as the character in which it is written and printed, and also of purism as shown in the avoidance, largely, in the literary form of the language, of words of

Persian and Arabic origin, which have obtained a firm footing in the language, as it is spoken. Such common words as *admi* (man), *dost* (friend) *dušman* (enemy), *gardan* (neck), *garm* (warm), *narm* (soft), *mālūm* (known) from Arabic *ma'lūm*, are conspicuous by their absence in a Hindi Dictionary. None of them are to be found in the Calcutta School Book Society's "Hindi-English Dictionary, for the Use of Schools," which, by the way, excludes also real Hindi words, such as *सूरज* (*sūraj*) and *साँप* (*sāp*), but gives instead *सूर्य* (*sūryya*) and *सर्प* (*sarp*). It is not proper, therefore, to include under the name "Hindi," Hindi in its ordinary sense and Urdu. The cause of Urdu being put under the name Hindi seems to be that the basis of Urdu is a Hindu Dialect which often goes by the name of Hindi. If Urdu is Hindi, by parity of reasoning, English is Low German (*Nieder Deutsch*) and not English. It is not proper then to include Urdu and Hindi (in its ordinary sense) under the name of *Hindi*. Such inclusion can cause only additional confusion in the use of the word *Hindi*, and is quite open to censure as an uncalled-for departure from the practice, long followed by Anglo-Indian lexicographers down to Fallon, of including both Urdu and Hindi (in its ordinary sense) under the name of *Hindustani*. Dr. Duncan Forbes, lexicographer and grammarian, begins his *Grammar of the Hindustānī Language*, 1862, with the following sentence:—"The Hindustānī language may be printed and written in two distinct alphabets, totally different from each other, viz., the Persi-Arabic and the Devanagari." The inclusion of Urdu written in the Persi-Arabic character and Hindi written in the Devanagari or Kaithi Nagri character under the name of *Hindustani* keeps off confusion, and leaves room for a reconciliation between the two under a common name. The word *Hindustani* is often used as a synonym for Urdu. This is not very accurate. *Hindustani* is a Persian word. It has been Indianised into *Hindusthani* in Bengal, and this Indianised form of the name may very well replace the Persian form of the name throughout India. The word *Hindi* is not Indian, after all. It is derived from the Persian and Arabic name, *Hind*, of India. There is very good reason why the *Hindus* should feel more attached to the names,

Hindusthan and *Hindusthani*, than to the names, *Hind* and *Hindi*.

We sorely want a suitable Indian name answering to the English name *Indian* as meaning a native of India. *Hindusthani* or *Hindustani* can be such a name, but not *Hindi*. ভারতবাসী (*Bhārotbāsi*—a phonetic transcription this) and भारतवासी (*Bhāratvāsi*) are the names now used, respectively, in Bengali and Hindi for *Indian*. But these coined names are very faulty in that men of all nationalities residing in India can properly be called *Bhāratvāsīs* (residents-of-India), and the expression "দক্ষিণ আফ্রিকার ভারতবাসী" (*Dokkhin Āphrikār Bhārotbāsi*)—which I take from a Bengali newspaper—involves a logical absurdity, for a resident of South Africa cannot properly be given the name of *Bhārotbāsi* (resident-of-India). It would be a good thing, it seems, for Indian nationality to have a common name, *Hindusthani* for Indian, and a common name, *Hindusthan* for India. There is a Tamil paper of the name of *India*, from which it appears that the name *Bhārat* for India is not current even among Hindus throughout India. Urdu-speakers do not use the name *Bhārat* for India, but there is every reason to believe that *Hindustan* would be more acceptable to them than *Hind*—though *Kaiṣar-i-Hind*, *Sitāra-i-Hind*, and *Twārikh-i-Hind* are Persianisms used in Urdu.

Those who are for making *Hindi* the national language of India cannot expect that the Hindi in Devanagari character, with its tendency towards Sanskritization will trample down to extinction Urdu in Persi-Arabic character, with its tendency towards Persianization. A reconciliation between the two under the common name of *Hindustani* or *Hindusthani* is the thing to be desired, as it is only by such reconciliation that its position can be sufficiently strengthened to enable it to compete with English for the position of a *lingua franca* for all India. The question of a reconciliation between Urdu and Hindi has occupied my thoughts for a very long time, and the following passages bearing on the subject from three of my articles in the *Calcutta Review* may be of some interest, I suppose, to persons who are considering at present the subject of a national language for India.

I. From Article, "Hindi, Hindustani and the Behar Dialects", July, 1882.

(1) "It is not Hindi with its puristic tendencies, nor Urdu with its learned element drawn from Arabic and Persian and its purism [even] in respect of Persian and Arabic words actually naturalised, but Hindustani on a broad basis, with a largely mixed vocabulary, non-puristic, but drawing all its higher terms from Sanskrit, that is best fitted to become India's national language."

(2) "The Hindus form an overwhelming majority of the population of India.... There is another reason also of a purely utilitarian character, why Hindustani should borrow all terms representing higher culture, viz., terms scientific, philosophic and æsthetic, from Sanskrit instead of from Persian and Arabic. For instance, those who know the words *karnā*, *darṣan* (visiting a shrine), *ginnā*, can acquire the terms *kriyā* (verb), *kartā* (nominative), *darṣan* (philosophy), *ganit* (mathematics) more easily than the corresponding words from Arabic, viz., *fi'l*, *fā'il*, *hikmat* and *hindasa*."*

(3) "Hindus should accept with a good grace the multitude of Persian and Arabic words that centuries of Muhammadan rule have caused to be naturalised in the languages of the country, while they steadily set their faces against such words as have not been naturalised; and Muhammadans, on their part, should reconcile themselves to the fact that the language they speak [Urdu] and rightfully consider their own, is Hindi in its basis, as they themselves are largely Hindu by race."

(4) "Hindustani grammar has received considerable modifications in different localities, in Behar, in the Deccan, and elsewhere; and these modifications have in many respects been decided improvements. Instead of being ignored or rejected, as at present they are, by those who write books, these modifications ought to be

* [I would add a note here. Indian Muhammadans should remember that culture words are drawn from Sanskrit by all the cultivated vernaculars of India, with the exception only of Urdu. The late Sir Syud Ahmad was at a loss to find a suitable word for *utilitarianism* that could be used in Urdu. *Fāidamandī* was the word that suggested itself to his mind, and he was not satisfied with it. *Hitvād* (from Sanskrit *hitavāda*) would be a very suitable Hindi equivalent of *utilitarianism*. *Hitabād* is used in Bengali for *utilitarianism*. S. G.]

recognised, we venture to think, as living integral constituents of the language. As instances of local modifications that are improvements, we may mention the rejection of the artificial distinction of gender, and of the case form in *ne*. In Hindustani, as spoken by Muhammadans and Hindus in Behar, there is neither the one nor the other."

II. From Article, "The Behar Dialects—A Rejoinder", April, 1883.

"To many besides Mr. Grierson, my conception of the future of Hindustani will no doubt appear a wild one. It is necessary, therefore, that I should explain myself farther in regard to it. The progress of knowledge in India will inevitably create a national feeling among Indians, and further industrial development, with increased facilities for communication, will bring about a more extended intercourse among the people of the different parts of the country, and, as caste-feeling grows weaker, intermarriage too. This will inevitably strengthen the position of Hindustani, which is already in a large measure the *lingua franca* of the country. Surely, it would be easier and more consistent with self-respect to use the *native* Hindustani as a general means of inter-provincial communication than to use the *foreign* English."

III. From Article, "Transliteration Versus Phonetic Romanisation", October, 1897.

"The Urdu and Hindi phases of Hindustani now stand apart, and the divergence between them tends to increase with the increasing cultivation of each, the former drawing more and more upon Arabic, and the latter more and more upon Sanskrit.... Are Urdu and Hindi, then, to stand perpetually apart, or is there to be ultimately a reconciliation between them, resulting in the formation of a common cultivated tongue for all Hindustani-speaking people? That such a reconciliation will ultimately take place, it is by no means unreasonable to suppose; and towards a thorough reconciliation, I believe, with Mr. Growse, the adoption of Roman for Persian and Nagari characters to be a necessary step. It may be allowed to Indians to hope that, when Roman come to take the place of Indian characters, there may be a scientific and not a slavish adoption of the former, so that the advantage of scientific precision that marks out the Devanagari and allied alphabets from the other alphabets

of the world may not be lost to the Indian peoples."

It is about twenty years and a half since the appearance of my Calcutta Review article from which the last passage has been quoted. Within this time immense strides have been taken by English towards becoming a common *lingua franca* for India, and the position of Hindustani has not advanced in any measure. This does not look well for its future. But there is no cause for despair. The newly roused wave of national feeling that is sweeping over the country will gather strength as time progresses, and will very probably bring about a wide diffusion of some knowledge of Hindustani. It would be an error, however, to suppose that this language could acquire something like the commanding position which French long occupied in Europe and does still occupy in a diminished measure. The political and intellectual supremacy of the French people in Europe for a long period gave their language its premier position in that Continent. There is no intellectual supremacy associated with the Hindustani language as compared with the other languages of India. Bengali, Marathi and Gujarati have received higher cultivation than Urdu or Hindi. Political supremacy, however, belongs to Hindustani in a certain way. The martial races of India are more closely connected with Hindustani than with any other language. Punjab, the best recruiting field for the Indian army, is largely Hindustani-speaking, and the United Provinces, the next best recruiting field, has Hindustani as its dominant language. Rajasthan too has Hindustani spoken in its towns. Furthermore, Hindustani is the most widely and most numerous spoken Indian language. So it is altogether the premier language in India.

The chasm between Urdu and Hindi cannot be bridged over all at once. But it can be greatly narrowed. Verbs, which form the backbone of a language are the same in both, and so are also most of the words of common life. Words of a certain character, particularly those connected with religion, are not the same as used by Muhammadans and Hindus. Thus *Khudā*, *Allāh* and *Īsvar* for God; *ilm* (Arabic *ilm*) and *vidyā* for knowledge and learning—triplicates and duplicates—must have a place in Hindustani, as legitimate constituents of the language. As instances of

the tendency that exists at present to unnecessarily widen the breach between Urdu and Hindi, I give below the following Urdu and Hindi equivalents of English words from the first 20, out of the 108 pages of Glossary attached to 108 pages of text, in Mr. Nesfield's Anglo-Oriental Reader, Book I.

English	Urdu	Hindi
Child	Larka	Balak
Flesh	Goṣṭ	Mās.
Gain	Hāṣil karna	Pana
World	Dunya	Samsar
Taste	Chokhna	Svad lenā
Mind	Dil	Chitt
Sun	Aftāb	Sūrya
Moon	Mahtāb	Chandr
Fire	Ag	Agni
Seem	M'alūm honā	Dikhlai
		parna
Shines	Chamaktā hai	Prakās
		karā hai
East	Mas'rik	Pūrb
West	Magrab	Paśchim
North	S'amal	Uttar
Soon	Jaldi se	S'ighr
Month	Mahina	Mās
Morning	Subh	Prātaḥkal
Clear	Saf	Svachchh
Cloud	Ab	Badal
Rest	Arām	Svāsthya
Harm	Nuqsān	Hani
Dear	'Aziz	Pyārā
Happy	Khus	Santust
Replied	Jawāb diya	Uttar diya
Angry	Khafa	Kruddh
Hog	Sūwar	Sukar
Stranger	Ajnabi	Anjan
Elephant	Hathi	Hasti
Serpent	Sāp	Sarp
Tiger	Chita	Bāgh
Root	Jar	Mul
Mango	Am	Amr
Age	'Umr	Ayu
Cock	Murg	Murgā,
		Kukkut
Countries	Mulk	Deś
Cloth	Kapra	Bastr
Deeds	Kām	Karm
Wrong	Galat	Asuddh
Yonder	Us taraf	Udhar
Soil	Zamīn	Mitti
Hope	Ummēd-karna	Asā karna
Greedy	Lālchi	Lobhi
Yard	Sahn	Angan
Honey	S'ahad	Madhu
Swiftly	Jaldi se	Sighratā se
Sweet	S'irin	Mitha
Satan	S'aītan	Pis'ach
Good	Adab	S'ishtachar
Manners		
Easy	Asān	Sugam

Sickness	<i>Bimāri</i>	<i>Rog</i>
Foes	<i>Dus'man</i>	<i>Bairi</i>
Silly	<i>Bewaqūf</i>	<i>Markh</i>

The words italicised in the foregoing list clearly indicate Pandit agency in the preparation of the Hindi part of the glossary.

The Persian and the Nagari characters are likely to hold their ground long. But the words written in these different characters may be the same, except in a few cases, and the names *Urdu* and *Hindi*

may be dropped and *Hindusthani* used instead. Raja Sivaprasad's *सिन्धुकोश और सटन* (Sandford and Merton), 1877, contains naturalised Persian and Arabic words in unstinted measure, so that in this book Hindi is brought very close to Urdu. Such words as *यद्यपि* (yadyapi) and *परन्तु* (parantu) that occur in the book remind one, however, of the Hindi of the Pandit class.

SYAMACHARAN GANGULI.

THE INTELLECTUAL LIFE

THE writer of this article belongs to one of the so-called learned professions, and his professional duties require him to spend his days in small provincial stations where he enjoys a moderate social status and consideration among the local public. His duties are of a sedentary nature, but though they are supposed to be exacting, he has managed to keep up the interest he felt in literature in his academic days. Though he is now on the wrong side of forty, he buys books and reads them, and tries to think out for himself the problems which confront our society, in the light of the contemporary and ancient civilisations of the world including our own, and their historic growth and development. This much, by way of personal introduction, is necessary to enable the reader to follow some of the observations which he will come across as he proceeds.

2. Professional men, specially professional men with a family, it is said, have seldom that surplus of nervous energy which is necessary to carry them far in literature or science. This is no doubt true, specially when the practice of the profession makes it necessary to put forth our highest intellectual efforts. But this necessity seldom exists in the case of Indians, who are mostly to be found in the lower rungs of the ladder, however rarefied may be the intellectual atmosphere in the top-grades of the profession. At any rate, in almost every profession, after a few years' practice the work is bound to partake something of a mechanical char-

acter, and an eternal round of routine duties usually makes a larger demand on our reflex activities than cause any serious expenditure of cerebral energy. To evoke high enthusiasm, something more than a sense of professional duty is required. One must feel a natural craving for the work, as something essential for the perfection of his manhood and the satisfaction of all that is best and highest in him—something, in short, which his heart yearns for, which fulfils, in however humble a degree, the ideals which inspire his mind with a vague desire for achievement in his most elevated moods, which gives aim and purpose to his life and makes him feel that he has a vocation. The sages of ancient India have often been and the savants of modern Europe sometimes are men with large families, and yet these have not proved serious impediments to successful intellectual work in their case. The man of culture in modern India may not possess the depth of the one or the breadth of view of the other and the devotion to the ideal of plain living and high thinking of either, but in the present condition of literature in India, very few can absolutely depend on it for a living, and so long as it continues to be a bad crutch to lean upon, professional men must be content to use it as a stick. This has been the case with most of our great Bengali writers from Bankim Chandra Chatterji downwards, who had to earn their bread by the sweat of their brow in other fields of professional activity. Moreover, considered from the

purely utilitarian point of view also, literature has its uses to the professional man. Whatever our occupation in life may be, it is most desirable to create for ourselves some other special interest. As Sir John Lubbock says, when sorrow, anxiety, and suffering come, it is an inestimable comfort to have some deep interest, which will, at any rate to some extent, enable us to escape from ourselves.

3. The busy professional man who has a taste for the intellectual life need not necessarily have any literary ambitions in order to be a sincere and devoted student. He may not try to impose his opinions on others, yet he may find it desirable to have correct opinions, not merely or even principally on political, but on other subjects as well. "And so, also, in the spheres of thought away from the political sphere, it is worth while 'to scorn delights and live laborious days' in order to make as sure as we can of having the best opinion, even if we know that this opinion has an infinitely small chance of being speedily or ever accepted by the majority, or by anybody but ourselves. Truth and wisdom have to bide their time, and then take their chance after all." (Morley). Indeed, the need for intellectual pursuits is likely to be felt all the more keenly by those who follow the learned professions, unless, as is usually the case in India, the call of religion—that is to say, in the language of the Shastras, following the time-honoured way in which our fathers and our grandfathers have gone before us*—proves too powerful to be overcome. For, to quote the beautiful words of Walter Pater, "we need some imaginative stimulus, some not impossible ideal which may shape vague hope and transform it into effective desire, to carry us year after year without disgust through the routine work which is so large a part of life." And we must remember that "it is the striving after, not the attaining of ideals, that is the motive power behind human endeavour. Ideals recede further and further as we advance, but we rise towards the stars as we seek them." (Schiller). When the mind, weary of the search and despondent in mood, sinks under the weight of its despair, as it often does, the scholar may cheer himself with the thought that

* येनास्मि पितरो याता येन याताः पितमहाः ।

येन यायान् सतां नागन् तेन गच्छन् दूषति ॥

We cannot kindle when we will

The fire which in the heart resides ;
The spirit bloweth and is still,

In mystery our soul abides.

But tasks in hours of insight willed

Can be through hours of gloom fulfilled.

4. The writer then, is a lover of intellectual pursuits, though a professional man, and fond of quoting the following lines of Wordsworth, and if the egotism may be excused, of tracing a resemblance between them and his own tastes and habits :

I am not one who much or oft delight
To season my fireside with personal

talk—

Of friends, who live within an easy walk,
Or neighbours daily, weekly, in my sight.

Dreams, books, are each a world ;

and books, we know,

Are a substantial world, both pure

and good.

Round these, with tendrils strong as

flesh and blood,

Our pastime and our happiness will

grow.

There find I *personal* themes a

plenteous store,

Matter wherein right voluble I am,

To which I listen with a ready ear.

Nor can I believe but that hereby

Great gains are mine; for thus I live

remote

From evil-speaking ; rancour, never

sought,

Comes to me not ; malignant truth,

or lie.

5. What are the characteristics of the intellectual life? The most noteworthy feature is that "the intellectual life is sometimes a fearfully solitary one. Unless he lives in a great capital, the man devoted to that life is more than all other men liable to suffer from isolation, to feel utterly alone beneath the deafness of space and the silence of the stars." (Hamerton). Mrs. Humphry Ward speaks of 'the cold spell, the ineffable prestige, of the thinker's voluntary death in life.' Sister Nivedita identifies the ideal of the life of the scholar, with its mingling of solitude, austerity and concentration of thought, with the Indian ideal of Brahmacharya. 'The scholar's life', she says, 'even in its routine, will be nearest to that of the saint.' This is of course true only of savants with

whom literature is not a recreation for their moments of leisure, but the one absorbing passion of their lives. At the same time it must be admitted, as Bishop Weldon has said, that in the scholar's life, in the simple pursuit of learning for its own sake, lies the deepest and purest spring of human happiness. Moreover, to quote Mr. Balfour, "no more sovereign specific exists for dissipating the petty cares and troubles of life. . . We obtain a power of putting our small troubles and our small cares in their proper place. We are able to see the history of mankind in something like its true perspective; and we not only gain the power of diverting our thoughts from the small annoyances of the hour, but we gain further the inestimable gift of seeing how small, compared with the general sum of human interests, of human sufferings and of human joys, are the insignificant troubles which may happen to each individual one of us." Dr. Garfield Williams truly pointed out that "any man who has been through the grip of an absorbing study knows quite well that not only does that study afford the food from which his mind obtains sustenance and power to grow, but that in addition his application to this study and the concentration of thought which it necessitates become factors also in his moral growth, factors whose importance it is hard to magnify."

6. Society has but one law, and that is custom. To succeed in the world you ought to be of the world and fully share in its passing interests, its temporary fashions, its transient phases of sentiment and opinion. Social success is therefore not to be thought of by the man whose interests lie in the intellectual plane. In exchange for the varied pleasures which make life enjoyable to other men, the intellectual life offers you the realities of knowledge and the tranquil joys that proceed therefrom. The path is arduous and the advance is beset with difficulties. One by one you have to drop your pleasant illusions, and face the naked reality behind the phenomenal world. In the process you certainly grow a sadder, if perchance also a wiser man. Before you get a glimpse of the Parnassian heights, you have shed most of those conventional sheaths which make your company agreeable to your neighbours. It is not for the scholar to cultivate the social virtues and

the graces and amenities of social life. He is ready to make every sacrifice except the sacrifice of time, which is to him the most precious of commodities. He knows that

The heights by great men reached

and kept

Were not attained by sudden flight,

But they, while their companions slept,

Were toiling upwards in the night.

And lastly, the intellectual life, in spite of and perhaps because of the long and arduous journey which it involves, has for him such deep attraction that he cannot turn his eyes from the goal—to come, after infinite labour, in contact with some great reality and be recognised as a fellow worker by other seekers after truth, spurred on by that last infirmity of noble minds, fame.

7. The educated man in our country is usually fed on intellectual pabulum of the lighter sort. Good novels are no doubt a useful recreation; they relieve the tension of the mind engaged in abstract thinking, give us an insight into life, inspire us with noble sentiments, and stimulate the mind, acting on it as a bracing tonic. But the spirit of the newspapers is to live intensely in the present. They discuss small events which have their interest for the day, and display a morbid preference for mere novelty and sensationalism. They disturb the serenity of the mind and its ability to concentrate on great and permanent themes. At the same time, they keep up our daily interest in each other and save us from the evils of isolation, and not to keep in touch with them is to cut oneself off from the larger life of the nation and of the world. The proper thing to do is to judiciously skip all that is merely ephemeral in them, and glancing through the sheets, fix the attention on facts and events which form the successive stages and landmarks of contemporary history. But to make newspapers our sole reading is to skim over the surface of life, without penetrating into the deeper realities which alone have any meaning for the man of culture.

8. The result of our educated men confining their reading mostly to newspapers, for the scholar, is that they are seldom in a position to satisfy his intellectual needs, and without agreeable or instructive friends, his life becomes one of the ghastliest of solitudes. Solitude, no doubt, is essential to the scholar's life. 'In the

world a man lives in his own age; in solitude, in all the ages,' says De Senancour. But the literary man is apt to lose strength and agility of thought by being too long deprived of a genial intellectual atmosphere. The life most favourable to culture should have its times of open and equal intercourse with the best minds, and also its periods of retreat. Such intercourse, specially in the small stations of the Mofussil, is simply out of the question in our country, and the mind of the scholar is famished and parched, and its productive capacity considerably diminished for want of stimulating and suggestive conversation and appreciative sympathy.

9. In western countries this defect is largely cured by cultivated female companionship. Women are by nature better fitted to enter into and sympathise with our aspirations. To feel and admire is habitual with them. They are quick to grasp your difficulties and once they appreciate your ideals they do their utmost to protect you from the petty troubles and worries of life. A wife or a sister has often proved in those happier climes a buffer between the scholar and the world outside, with its material wants and insistent social demands. But most wives in this country would consider study as some sort of a rival, and look upon the time devoted to it with jealousy. Women are much more the slaves of custom than men, and more alive to the necessity of conforming to social rules and conventions. If there is some visible result of your labours in fame or money, your wife may take your side against custom and ensure your tranquility from disturbance of all sorts, but more often the probability is that she will take the side of custom against you.

10. To keep up one's interest in the intellectual life and cheerfully undertake the sacrifices which it involves in the midst of such distressing environments, one has to fortify himself with thoughts like the following: "Consider the triviality of life and conversation and purpose, in the bulk of those whose approval is held out for our prize and the mark of our high calling. Measure, if you can, the empire over them of prejudice undisturbed by a single element of rationality, and weigh, if you can, the huge burden of custom, unrelieved by a single leavening particle of fresh thought. Ponder the share which selfishness and love of ease have in the vitality and the

maintenance of the opinions that we are forbidden to dispute. Then how fitful a thing seems the approval or disapproval of these creatures of the conventions of the hour. . . In the light of these things, a man should certainly dare to live his small span of life with little heed of the common speech upon him or his life, only caring that his days may be full of reality and his conversation of truth-speaking and wholeness." (Morley).

11. Or take the following from Hamerton: "High culture always isolates, always drives men out of their class and makes it more difficult for them to share naturally and easily the common class-life around them. They seek the few companions who can understand them, and when these are not to be had within any traversable distance, they sit and work alone. Very possibly too, in some instances, a superior culture may compel the possessor of it to hold opinions too far in advance of the opinions prevalent around him to be patiently listened to or tolerated, and then he must either disguise them, which is always distasteful to a man of honour, or else submit to be treated as an enemy to human welfare....in the provinces there are many places where it is not easy for them to live socially without a degree of reserve that is more wearisome than solitude itself. And however much pains you take to keep your culture well in the back ground, it always makes you rather an object of suspicion to people who have no culture. They perceive that you are reserved, they know that very much of what passes in your mind is a mystery to them, and this feeling makes them uneasy in your presence, even afraid of you, and not indisposed to find a compensation for this uncomfortable feeling in sarcasms behind your back. Unless you are gifted with a truly extraordinary power of conciliating good will, you are not likely to get on happily for long together with people who feel themselves your inferiors. The very utmost skill and caution will hardly avail to hide all your modes of thought. Something of your high philosophy will escape in an unguarded moment, and give offence because it will seem foolish or incomprehensible to your audience. There is no safety for you but in timely withdrawal, either to a society that is prepared to understand you, or else to a solitude where your intellectual

superiorities will neither be a cause of irritation to others nor of vexation to yourself." There is, however, a very grave and serious danger in indulging in this line of thinking which all earnest and sincere students should do well to guard against. A fatal self-complacency, a conceit which thinks only too well of oneself because society is chary to give what he considers to be his due, has been the ruin of many who have chosen literature as a career. Self-confidence is good within due limits, but let us not imagine that because what Ruskin calls our "farthing rushlight" is not mistaken for the sun, the blame lies with the public. At the same time, the consciousness of one's superiority is borne in upon him so irresistibly by the specimens of educated men which one sometimes sees around him, that it is no wonder that literary men as a class are generally regarded as proud and self-sufficient. The consideration and even regard which these very men show when they meet an equal or an intellectual superior to whom they can unburden their minds and whose conversation they can profit by, proves that what is called their pride is nothing but the sheath in which they encase themselves when in the midst of uncongenial environments. This withdrawal into self is the reason why those who prefer to lead the intellectual life are so often regarded as eccentric people. To quote the same author again, "in all communities where a low standard of thinking is received as infallible common sense, eccentricity becomes an intellectual duty. There are hundreds of places in the provinces where it is impossible for any man to live the intellectual life without being condemned as an eccentric. It is the duty of intellectual men who are thus isolated to set the example of that which their neighbours call eccentricity, but which may be more accurately described as superiority."

12. The charge of selfishness is often brought against the man of intellectual tastes, and apparently with good reason. A certain indifference to the concerns of everyday life, to the petty troubles of his neighbours and even of his own family, is developed in him, and he is crusted over with a hardness of heart which makes him irresponsive to the quick changes of daily life and destroys his adaptability to the exigencies of social custom. This, however, when looked at from the proper point

of view, is due to the very necessity of the case. A man who wants to be *au courant* with the best that is known and thought in the world, and whose days, in the words of Southey, are passed among the dead, is bound to be oblivious to many things which affect others deeply for the time being but have an element of transiency in them. He has simply no time to waste over them, for he knows that they are fleeting and will leave no permanent impressions behind, and therefore need not disturb his mental equilibrium. At any rate he knows that there are others to attend to them, perhaps more effectively, and so his indifference does not really matter. His aim is fixed on things of higher moment, and he knows that he can serve his country and his community much better by devoting his attention exclusively to them. There is however an intellectual dilletantism, the evils of which have been well depicted by Tennyson in his *Palace of Art*, where, in the midst of the most æsthetic surroundings, the soul sits enthroned

"as God holding no form or creed
But contemplating all."

It only takes the soul four years to find out the emptiness of such isolation from the living world outside, with its real joys and sorrows, and plagued with sore despair by 'the abysmal depths of personality' she eventually retires from her 'intellectual throne' of 'slothful shame,' lest she should fail and perish utterly. With Aristotle, we should never forget that the end of study is not knowledge but conduct, for what, in the words of the Bible, is a man profited if he gain the whole world and lose his own soul?

13. But life without the spirit of enquiry, says another great ancient, Plato, is not worth living. And it is this curiosity which makes the intellectual worker sacrifice all the keener pleasures of life to the quiet hours passed at dead of night in that haven of repose, that true fairy land, his library, where he can "bring the golden key that unlocks its silent door." The man of subdued passions keeps his vigil during those silent hours when the rest of the world is asleep—says the Bhagabadgita. He does so because he finds ample recompense in his silent communings with the neverfailing sources of inspiration which lie around him. There he can join

that choir invisible
Of those immortal dead who live again
In minds made better by their presence.

To those restless spirits who cannot
appreciate the deeper joys of such an
existence and call it mere death in life, he
would say :

We live in deeds, not years ; in thoughts,
not breaths ;
In feelings, not in figures on a dial.
We should count life by heart-throbs.

He most lives
Who thinks most, feels the noblest, acts
the best.

14. The greatest obstacle to the intellectual life lies in sudden interruptions to the equable flow of the thought-current. Literary work is sure to be much better done when there is no fear of disturbance than under the apprehension of it ; and precisely the same amount of cerebral effort will produce, when the work is uninterrupted, not only better writing, but a much greater quantity of writing. "The great question about interruption is not whether it compels you to divert your attention to other facts, but whether it compels you to turn your whole mind to another diapason. . . . When an attorney is interrupted in the study of a case by the arrival of a client who asks him questions about another case, . . . the general state of mind, the legal state of mind, is not interfered with. But now suppose a reader perfectly absorbed in his author, an author belonging very likely to another age and another civilisation entirely different from ours. . . . You are just beginning the splendid paragraph where Socrates condemns himself to maintenance in the Prytaneum, and if you can only be safe from interruption till it is finished, you will have one of those minutes of noble pleasure which are the rewards of intellectual toil. But if you are reading in the day time in a house where there are women and children, or where people can fasten upon you for pottering details of business, you may be sure that you will *not* be able to get to the end of the passage without being in some way or other rudely awakened from your dream, or suddenly brought back into the common world. The loss intellectually is greater than any one who has not suffered from it could imagine. People think that an interruption is merely the unhooking of an electrical chain, and that the current

will flow, when the chain is hooked on again, just as it did before. To the intellectual and imaginative student an interruption is not that ; it is the destruction of a picture." (Hamerton). An apt instance of this will be found in the autobiography of Nabin Chandra Sen the poet, where he bitterly laments the interruption caused by an official telegram when he was concluding one of the finest passages of a book he was then engaged on in the privacy of his study, and he tells us how the beautiful lines which were then crowding into his brain for utterance were dispersed beyond hope of recall by the unfortunate disturbance, with the result that the book had to be finished differently and in a much worse condition than would otherwise be the case. The loss, in such a case, is not confined to the author alone, but is suffered by the whole country, and it is therefore extremely desirable to protect our great living authors from such untimely interruptions, so far as it is possible on the part of their friends and neighbours to do so.

15. To compare great things with small, the humble writer of this article, who has in the opening lines given enough autobiographical details to enable the reader to follow with interest the experiences he is going to narrate, has long been a victim of the kind of interruption complained of, which in this country takes the shape of a mild social persecution and is none the less keenly felt because it may not be intended as such. From the very day he joined his profession, his friends and colleagues took it for granted that his days of study were over. Many were the tricks he had to resort to, to avoid being considered an eccentric and acquiring a bad reputation in his own circle. If he were reading a book in his parlour—the only spare room, by the way, which he could afford to have in those days—where his friends and patrons might drop in at any time, and if the book were not a novel, and particularly if it happened to be a book written in the vernacular, he had actually to keep a newspaper by to conceal it under, for whereas reading a newspaper or a novel would be considered quite natural and normal, serious study of any kind would be apt to be regarded as so peculiar and unusual in a grown up 'man of the world' that it would have totally ruined his chances of success in

the profession. Later on, when his position in life became more assured and he could impose his terms on his friends without any greater risk than that of appearing unsociable, he had the greatest difficulty—a difficulty which continues to this day—in making them keep to stated hours in paying their calls, which have usually no other object than idle gossip, varied by shop-talk of the most outrageous description. Many friendships were strained almost to breaking-point in sticking to this resolution, but at the same time, in order to meet his friends half way and not to break off entirely from society, the writer had sometimes to sacrifice many valuable hours of quiet work and study, to his deep regret and loss. However educated his neighbours might be, they would simply *not* understand that a man can really feel an absorbing interest in the world of thought, and hints, not always gentle, fell absolutely flat on them. The writer has many a time discovered that playing at cards, making up the household accounts, and even the commonplace operation of shaving, has been accepted as a good excuse for absence where study or literary work was put quite out of court as a luxury or redundancy which could afford to wait. How many are the occasions which the writer recalls with regret when, deeply immersed in his favourite occupation, with his mind far away from the monotonous round of petty incidents which make one day as much like another as two peas in a small out-of-the-way station, he was called away by friends who would take no denial, simply to share in their inane talk and chronicle small beer! To set one's face resolutely against such invitations would be to cut oneself off entirely from such society as may be said to exist in the Mofussil, and this is not possible or expedient. It seems to the writer that there is nothing for it, in the present state of public enlightenment in our country, but to put up with this sort of persecution when it is unavoidable, but only then, and not so long as a means of escape is decently open.

16. And yet, those who feel that they have a mission to fulfil, and have the divine urge in them, must be prepared to risk everything rather than fail to respond to the call from above. They must remember, with Carlyle, that every noble crown is, and on earth will ever be, a crown of thorns. Misrepresentations should not deter, misunderstandings should not discourage them from the performance of their primary duty, which is to be true to their highest selves. We shall conclude with a free translation of a ringing passage from Professor Jadunath Sarkar, himself a strenuous worker and ardent votary of the historic muse, who, like a solitary Pelican in the wilderness, has drawn the attention of his literary countrymen to what is required of them. "The greatest minds of the world work alone; ignoring local society, sometimes rebelling against it, they achieve their lifelong task. They are the monarchs of the forest, and procure nourishment by driving their roots deep down into the earth. Their thirsty lips are quenched by secret springs. But the moment the result of their labours is made known, it becomes public property. . . . That literature which will infuse our race with new vigour, and will place India on the pedestal of success, must be built up by the prolonged and arduous toil of silent workers who must pass through a long course of probation before they set their hands to the task; they must cultivate a saint-like detachment and be heroes. He who would produce literature of permanent value even in the smaller branches of its different departments, must be an ardent seeker and a fearless preacher of truth. He must be ready to improve his talent by long self-culture and tedious preparation, and be a selfless devotee at the shrine of Minerva. We should never forget that there is no other or cheaper way to literary achievement and success."

• *Vide The Prabashi, Asharb, 1324.*

BIBLIOPHILE.

THE HORSE-SACRIFICE AND ITS POLITICAL SIGNIFICANCE

BY NARENDRANATH LAW, M.A., B.L., PREMCHAND ROYCHAND SCHOLAR.

XXI.

ELIGIBILITY.

It is agreed on all hands in the Vedic texts that the performer of the *Asvamedha* sacrifice should be a *kshatriya* king. The achievement of the political object of assertion of power no doubt required that he should be a very powerful king but this requirement is not expressly mentioned in several of the aforesaid texts. The *Satapatha-Brahmana* clearly points out "Let him who holds royal sway perform the horse-sacrifice; for, verily, whosoever performs the horse-sacrifice, without possessing power, is poured (swept) away..... Were unfriendly men to get hold of the horse, his sacrifice would be cut in twain" ¹ and the warning thus conveyed is also found in *Taittiriya-Brahmana* ². The *Sutra* of the latter gives rather a vague definition of the eligibility by laying down that it can be celebrated by a *Sarvabhauma* (king ruling the whole land) as well as by an *Asvabhauma* (king not ruling the whole land). The rest of the *Brahmanas* and *Sutras* named in the following paragraph are silent on any distinctive qualities other than what has been mentioned at the outset. Prof. Eggeling³ elucidates the point by remarking that the performance of the sacrifice involved assertion of political authority which was possible only for a monarch of undisputed supremacy able to face with confidence the risk of humiliation; for the entrance of the sacrificial horse into a neighbouring territory implied a challenge to its king. The necessity of having a hundred royal princes to guard the horse while ranging about perhaps indicates the wide political influence of the sacrificer.

OBJECTIVES.

Over and above the implied object of asserting political supremacy, various other

objects were kept in view and believed to be achieved by the sacrifice. Wealth, strength and freedom from sins, are prayed for in a hymn of the *Rig-Veda*¹ relating thereto. The objects according to the *Taittiriya-Brahmana*² are (1) all kinds of riches in the kingdom, (2) all sorts of welfare, (3) power, (4) abundance of yields from cattle, (6) abundant benefits, (7) steadiness, (8) fame, (9) acquisition of spiritual power even by the non-*brahmanas* in the country, (10) removal of sins, and ability of every *kshatriya* in the kingdom to kill the enemy, (11) long life, and (12) acquisition of property by the subjects and preservation thereof; according to the *Satapatha*³, fulfilment of all desires and attainment of all attainments, while its *Sutra*⁴ as well as that⁵ of the *Rig-Veda* mentions the former alone.

THE ASVAMEDHA, A THREE-DAYS' SOMA-SACRIFICE.

The *Asvamedha* occupies in fact the long period of one year and three days but is regarded notwithstanding as a triduum,⁶ the last three days covering the essential rituals proper and the preceding year the preparations.

PREPARATIONS.

The preliminaries commence either in summer or in spring but preferably in the latter season six or seven days before the full moon of *Phalguna*.

MESS OF RICE.

The four chief priests meet together and eat a mess of rice prepared by one of them.

¹ *Rig-Veda*, I, 162, 22.

² *Taittiriya-Brahmana*, III, 9, 19 (with Sayana's commentary). The last passage thus sums up the twelve benefits:

Esha vai vibhuh prabhurujasvan payasvan vidhrite
Vyavrittah pratishthitastejasvi brahmavarcha-
syativyadhi dirghah kripthe dvadasa.

³ S. Br., (S. B. E.), xiii, 4, 1, 1.

⁴ *Katyayana-Srauta-Sutra*, xx, 1.

⁵ *Sankhayana-Srauta-Sutra*, xvi, 1, 1.

⁶ S. Br., xiii, 4, 1, 1; *Panchavimsa-Brahmana*, xxi, 4; *Sankhayana-Srauta-Sutra*, xvi, 1, 1.

¹ S. Br., (S. B. E.), xiii, 1, 6, 3.

² *Taittiriya-Brahmana*, III, 6, 9, 4.

³ S. Br., (S. B. E.), pt. v, p. xv, xxviii.

THE HORSE-SACRIFICE AND ITS POLITICAL SIGNIFICANCE

NIGHT RITUAL.

The king and four of his wives pass the night in the sacrificial hall with self-restraint intending to reach successfully the end of the preparatory year.

OBLATIONS.

This is followed by the warning offering and Purnāhuti (full-offering) by the Adhvaryu and oblations to Agni (mouth of the sacrifice) and Pushan (overlord of roads). The objects of which are the accomplishment of the sacrificer's desires and the safety of the sacrificial horse while roaming for a year to follow.¹

SPRINKLING OF THE SACRIFICIAL HORSE.

The horse possessing supreme excellence and other prescribed qualities is tied up with a rope of *darbha* grass twelve or thirteen cubits long with proper *mantras* and sprinkled with water to make it acceptable to the gods while the water is dripping from its body, a rite is performed for averting seizure of the horse by enemies during its year's journey. In this rite a dog is put under the horse and killed.²

SAVITRI OFFERINGS.

Three offerings are made the next morning to Savitri Prasavitri, Savitri Asavitri, and Savitri Satyaprasava for speeding the sacrifice, the fore-offerings attached in thereto being succeeded by songs sung by a Brahman to the accompaniment of a lute played by himself. These songs like the bardic recitations related the past liberalities of the king now celebrating the *Asvamedha*, and the sacrifices performed by him.

HORSE LET LOOSE ; WHISPERING ; AND OBLATIONS.

The horse is then brought to the grounds in front of the sacrificial hall and let loose among a hundred worn-out horses to be guarded by four hundred armed men, namely, a hundred princes clad in armour, a hundred warriors with swords, a hundred sons of heralds and headmen with quivers and arrows, and a hundred sons of attendants and charioteers. The Adhvaryu with the sacrificer just before letting it loose whispers into its right ear certain *mantras* in which the horse is lauded and entrusted to the care

of the guardian deities of the quarters the four classes of human guardians of the four regions just enumerated. The duties of these human guards are not only to protect the horse but also to keep it away from waters suitable for bathing, and mare was believed that the successful accomplishment of these duties by the hundred protectors for the prescribed period of a year would save them kings, while their failure in this respect would deprive them of this high position and make them mere nobles and peasants instead. A number of *Stokya* and forty *Prakrama* oblations (addressed to the guardian deities of the four regions and the four qualities of the horse) are then made in order to make up for the wear and tear of the horse, it, as an object of offering to the gods, undergo before it is sacrificed.³

ROAMING OF THE HORSE.

The horse set at large roams about in whichever direction it likes without the slightest restraint being put upon its movements. It is supposed that the oblations offered at the sacrificial hall operate as the magnet that brings it back to the sacrificial grounds at the end of its journey. These oblations are offered to the same as those already prescribed namely to Savitri, Prasavitri, Asavitri and Savitri Satyaprasava, Savitri being here regarded as the earth the boundary of which the horse cannot cross. These rituals are accompanied as formerly with songs of the lute-player¹.

THE REVOLVING LEGENDS.

The *Hotri* after the oblations takes his seat upon a cushion wrought of gold threads surrounded by the sacrificer, *Brahman*, *Udgatri* seated on similar cushions, *Adhvaryu* on gold stool or slab. Addressed by the Adhvaryu, the *Hotri* tells the audience of listeners as well as some householders the legends learned in the scriptures the first *Paripatra* (revolving) legend about king Manu Vaivasvata whose subjects were Men and devas whose rule the *Rik* formulas were the *Veda*. Thus saying the *Hotri* goes over a hymn of the *Rik*. On nine successive days, the *Hotri* relates nine legends about (1) king Yama Vaivasvata whose subjects were the Fathers and the *Yajus* formulas the *Veda*. (2) King

1 S. Br., xiii, 4, 1.

2 S. Br., xiii, 1, 2.

1 S. Br., xiii, 4.

2 Ibid., xiii, 1, 3.

3 Ibid., xiii, 4, 2, 6-17.

Varuna Aditya whose people were *Gandharvas* and the *Atharvans* the *Veda*. (3) King Soma Vaishnava whose people were *Apsaras* and the *Angiras* the *Veda*. (4) King Arbuda Kadraneya who ruled over *Snakes*, *Sarpa-vidya* (science of snakes) being the *Veda*. (5) King Kubera Vaisravana ruling over the *Rakshas*, the *Devajana-Vidya* (demonology) being the *Veda*. (6) King Asita Dhanva, lord of the *Asuras*, magic being the *Veda*. (7) King Matsya Sammada having *Water-dwellers* as his subjects, the *Itihasa* being the *Veda*. (8) King Tarkshya Vaipasyata whose people are the *Birds*, the *Purana* being the *Veda*. (9) King Dharma Indra ruling over the gods, the *Saman* (chant-texts) being the *Veda*.

On each of these days the additional listeners are similar to or belong to the same class as the subjects of the various kings, namely, (1) householders unlearned in the scriptures as already pointed out, (2) old men, (3) handsome youths, (4) handsome maidens, (5) snake-charmers with snakes, (6) evil-doers such as robbers, (7) usurers, (8) fishermen with fish, (9) bird-catchers (or knowers of the science of birds) with birds, and (10) learned *srotriyas* (theologians) accepting no gifts. Likewise the *Hotri* reads a hymn of the *Rig-Veda* on the first day, a chapter (*anuvaka*) of the *Yajurveda* on the second, a section (*parvan*) of the *Atharvan*, the *Angiras*, the *Sarpa-vidya*, the *Devajana-vidya* on the third, fourth, fifth and sixth respectively, performs some magic trick on the seventh, tells some *Itihasa*, and some *Purana* on the eighth and ninth respectively, and repeats a decade of the *Saman* on the tenth¹.

Lute-players sing of the sacrificer every day with the righteous kings of yore just after their rites. The ten days on which the ten legends are related form a cycle which is repeated 36 times during the year the horse is abroad. Each of the different gods or mythic personages is regarded as king on each successive day with the special class of beings as his subjects and the particular texts as the *Veda*.²

1 S. Br., xiii, 4, 3, 1-14.

2 "Regarding the form and nature of some of the specified texts such as Sarpavidya, Devajanavidya, Asuravidya, we really know next to nothing.....Even regarding Itihasa and Puranas.....additional knowledge would by no means be unwelcome.....The legends related would seem to have learnt, as a rule,

The telling of these legends, says the *Satapatha*, covers "all royalties, all regions, all *Vedas*, all gods, all beings; and, verily, for whomsoever the *Hotri*, knowing this, tells this revolving legend, or whosoever knows this, attains to fellowship and communion with these royalties, gains the sovereign rule and lordship over all people, secures for himself all the *Vedas*, and, by gratifying the gods, finally establishes himself on all beings."¹

Dhriti OBLATIONS.

The *Dhriti* oblations made, like those to *Savitri*, at the sacrificial hall every evening for a year, are believed to give the sacrificial horse safe-dwellings at night.²

Having noticed the rituals connected with the revolving of the horse and the belief of their control and benign influence upon the animal as well as the benefits accruing to the sacrificer and others, let us turn to the practical complement of these rituals. The horse is let loose in the company of hundred other horses and though there is a formal prohibition to put restraint upon the will of the former as regards the course of its roaming, the latter can be freely managed. This may have been a good expedient for keeping the sacrificial horse within desirable bounds and giving the intended turns to its course³. The guards watching it have to spend every night at the dwelling of a carpenter all along their journey. This injunction may be easily practised so long as they do not cross the limits of the sacrificer's domain but may present difficulties in foreign territories⁴.

THE CHALLENGE.

Not merely the entrance of the horse upon the foreign territory is a challenge to its sovereign but also the mere release of the horse by the sacrificer is a challenge to anyone that ventures to capture it and frustrate the object of the sacrificer by defeating him

of the simplest possible description." S. Br., (S. B. E.). Eggeing, pt. v, pp. xxxi, xxxii.

1 S. Br., xiii, 4, 3, 15.

2 Ibid., xiii, 1, 4, 3.

3 In the description of Yudhishtira's Asvamedha, the horse is called kamachara, (i. e. roamer at will—M.Bh., Asvamedha-Parva, ch. 83, slk. 2) but the previous sloka uses the causative verb charayamasa (caused it to proceed) which shows that the injunction of non-restraint was not literally followed.

4 S. Br., xiii, 4, 2, 17, and Ibid., (S. B. E.) Intro. p. xxx.

and his people in the fights that ensue. But as it is not practicable, as a rule, for any of the sacrificer's subjects to take upon himself the risk and its fatal results, or for a rival king to use his forces successfully within the sacrificer's territory, the horse is practically secure so long as it does not go beyond its limits. Nevertheless the mere release¹ of the horse is as much a challenge as its setting foot upon a foreign soil. In view of the restraint put in practice upon the roamings of the steed its course was perhaps made to suit the particular purposes with which the horse-sacrifice was performed on particular occasions. If the obtainment of children were the object it was not necessary to allow it to enter a foreign territory where needless carnage might be the consequence. Dasara's horse-sacrifice² for the above purpose is described in the *Ramayana* with so little emphasis upon the wanderings of the horse that it might well be taken as lending colour to the above inference. When the assertion of sovereign authority was in view the wanderings were made to assume a different character. The sacred animal had to pass through those States upon which the sacrificer's suzerainty intended to be asserted, for its roamings within a limited area round the sacrificial grounds could not have achieved the desired ends. Should the practical direction of the rangings of the steed be admitted, as it should be, though from the orthodox point of view it was either ignored or not believed and attributed to the influence of the rituals, we get a clue to the solution of the question as to how the horse could be managed while "wandering at will," and made to return to the sacrificial hall neither a day sooner nor a day later than the prescribed period. Had the steed set free by Yudhisthira for his *Asvamedha* been permitted to stray within a few miles of Indraprastha, the intention of having the formal submission of the numbers of princes upon whom the imperial sway was sought to be yoked would have been rendered nugatory. It was looked upon as a cowardice and a sign of submission on the part of a king not to take up the challenge implied in the progress of the horse through his State, and

those kings that captured the horse to keep off the stain upon their bravery paid for it dearly. The king of Manipura, the capital of Kalinga, was put to shame by Arjuna for not opposing him like a true *Kshatriya*¹. Thus the horse sacrifices when performed for assertion of political power evoked bloody oppositions and proved to be a prolific source of unrest to the many kingdoms that had to face the sword in order to preserve their independence.

DIKSHA.

Just after a year from the release of the horse is held the initiation (Diksha) of the sacrificer. The object of this ritual is the same as that of the *Agnishtoma* already dealt with. The ceremony lasts for seven days of which the first six are spent in the daily offering of four *Andgrabhanas* (elevatory) and three *Vaisvadeva* oblations for the upholding of the *Asvamedha*. The *Dikshaniyeshiti* of the *Agnishtoma* is performed on the seventh day with increase in the number of the aforesaid daily offerings which are followed by one or two rites of the *Agnishtoma*. After this, some *mantras* are uttered praying for the birth of brahmanas with spiritual lustre; for kshatriyas, heroic, skilled in archery, mighty, car-fighters and good shots; for well-favoured women, victorious warriors, blithful youth; for milch cows, draught oxen, swift racers, and rain whenever wanted; and for a heroic son to be born to the sacrificer². In the evening the lute-players whose work continued for a whole year and ceased just before the commencement of the Diksha ceremony are again called upon to sing of the sacrificer along the gods in order that he might share the same world with the gods. These songs are repeated on the three *upasad* days of the *Agnishtoma* of which this *Diksha* is the beginning and also on the succeeding days up to the end of the sacrifice. On each of the three *upasad* days, forming as it does a part of the *Asvamedha*, animal victims are offered, the third day having a larger number of victims than is usual in the *Agnishtoma*³.

FIRST Soma-DAY.

The *upasad* days are succeeded by the three days that make the *Asvamedha* a

¹ The details of the *Asvamedha* in the late Sanskrit work the Jaimini Bharata speak of a written challenge put up on the head of the horse.

² Rama, Bala-kanda, ch. 14.

¹ MBh., *Asvamedha-Parva*, chs. 79-81.

² S. Br., xiii, 1, 7-9.

³ Ibid., (S. B. E.), xiii, 4, 4, [2-4 and f. n. to 3.

triduum. The rituals of the first are identical with those of the last day of the *Agnishtoma* except for the manner of chanting hymns, number of victims quieted, and food-oblations (*Anna-homas*.)

SECOND *Soma*-DAY.

The second *Soma*-day is the most important in view of the ceremonies it involves. Like the preceding *Soma*-day modelled on the last day of the ordinary *Agnishtoma*, this *Soma* day is a modification of the last day of the ordinary *ukthya* to which the following are the additions :—

When the *Bahishpavamana Stotra* is chanted, the sacrificial horse is taken to the place of chanting. Its sniffing or turning on the occasion is interpreted as a token that the sacrifice has been successful.¹ The *Hotri* then sings the merits of the horse which is yoked to a chariot along with three other horses. The sacrificial horse is identified with the Sun,—a conception to which the roaming of the horse for a year was but a corollary corresponding to the annual course of the Sun. The present harnessing of the animal to the chariot is meant to put the sacrificer in the leading of the Sun, i.e., the horse for the gaining of the heavenly world. The animal is anointed and decorated by the wives of the sacrificer after which the horses are driven to an adjacent pond where certain *mantras* are uttered by the sacrificer. After their return to the sacrificial ground, a theological colloquy is held between the *Brahman* and the *Hotri* sitting face to face with the central sacrificial stake in the middle to imbue the sacrificer with fiery spirit and spiritual lustre².

VICTIMS.

The number of animal victims in this sacrifice is very large. Two classes of these should be distinguished, namely, those that are killed and those that are symbolically sacrificed by fire being taken round them, the former numbering 349 and the latter 260.³ The sacrificial horse with sixteen other animals is tied to the central stake while to the different parts of the body of the horse are leashed twelve similar victims called

Paryangas (circum-corporal). In each of the twenty interspaces between the stakes is placed a set of thirteen wild victims. The sacrificial horse is compared to a chieftain, the *Paryangas* to heralds and headmen, and the other victims to the peasantry. The tying of the *Paryangas* to the different parts of the body of the horse serves to make the heralds and headmen subservient to the chieftain or the sacrificer. The killing¹ of the staked animals was believed to exert beneficent influences on the means of communication, demarcation of villages and the attempt to ward off bears, tigers, thieves, murderers and robbers even in the forest but the slaughter of the wild victims would have produced the opposite results. But as the sacrifice could not be complete without the slaughter, symbolic slaying was resorted to as the *via media*. The stake victims included the domestic animals of various descriptions, viz., horse, goat, sheep, antelope, cow and such like, while those in the interspaces might well be said to have ranged from the biggest born of earth to the tiniest worm that crept the ground, from the tawny lion, scaled crocodile, and treacherous serpent of sinuous trace to the soft-cooing dove and liveried peacock, from the dwellers of the deep or burrows to the rangers of the densest forests or the highest hill-tops. The sacrificial ground assumed at this time the appearance of a well stocked menagerie that could have regaled the eyes of a zoologist or an ornithologist. As all these creatures, some of which were rare or different to entrap, had to be preserved alive, a good deal of care and money must have been spent for the purpose. A list of these animals exclusive of the duplicates is given below². The sacrificial horse and

1 Slaughtering knives of three different metals—gold, copper, and iron—were used to kill the horse, the *paryangas* and the other staked victims respectively.

2 See *Vajasaneyi-Samhita* xxiv, 20-40.

Birds :—*Kapinjala* (francoline partridge or *Cuculus Melanoleucus*) ; *kalaviinka* (sparrow) ; *tittiri* (partridge) ; *varttika* and *laba* (quails) ; *vataka* (a kind of crane) ; *hamsa* (gander or such other aquatic birds) ; *kruncha* (curlew) ; *madgu* (diver-bird) ; *chakravaka* (annas cascara) ; *chasha* (blue jay) ; *mayura* (peacock) ; *kapota* (pigeon or dove) ; *paravata* (turtle-dove or pigeon) ; *datyauba* (gallinule) ; *suka* (parrot) ; *suparna* (vulture) ; *ati* (an aquatic bird) ; *kutaru* and *krikavaku* (cocks) ; *kokila* or *anyavapa* (Indian cuckoo) ; *kanka* (heron) ; *uluka* (owl) ; *jatu* (bat) ; *darvagahata* (wood-pecker) ; and *kakara*, *vikakara*,

1 S. Br., xiii, 2, 3 and xiii, 5, 1, 16.

2 Ibid., xiii, 2, 6 and xiii, 5, 1, 16-17.

3 The *Vajasaneyi-Samhita*, xxiv, names the various gods to whom these 609 victims are dedicated.

other animals are sprinkled with water with the utterance of appropriate formulas. The *Adhvirgu* litany addressed to the slaughterers is recited by the *Hotri* and a cloth and a big upper cloth with a piece of gold on them are spread on the ground under the horse for slaying it thereon. Three oblations are made at the time of quieting¹, after which the wives of the sacrificer turn round the horse nine times and fan it, the object being to make amends for the slaughter and put nine vital airs into themselves and perpetuate them. Next follows a ceremony in which the four wives of the sacrificer, a damsel and the principal priests take part.

POST-QUIETING CEREMONY WITH ITS COLLOQUY.

The sacrificial horse is looked upon as Prajapati, the lord of creatures, and the place where it is lying as heaven. The object of the ceremony is to bestow fertility on the sacrificer's principal wife who takes the chief part on the occasion². Prof. Eggeling³ says that this was evidently a primitive custom that had nothing to do with Vedic religion and was distasteful to the author of the *Brahmana* as evinced by the brief way in which it has been referred to, and the symbolic explanations attached to the formulas and colloquies; but it was

goshadi, dhunksha, puskarasada, sayandu, alaja, sushilika, kvayi, saka and sichapu.

Wild beasts and insects:—Purusha-hasti (male elephant); vardhrinisa and khadga (rhinoceros); simha (lion); sardula (tiger); tarakshu (hyena); riksha (bear); gavaya or srimara (gayal or box gavæus); ushtra (camel); mahisha (buffalo); rohita (red or chestnut horse); gaudaka-mriga (wild horse); rishya, ruru, nyankun, prishata, kulunga, mayu, krishna-mriga (species of antelope); aranya-mesha, (wild sheep); aranya-aja (wild goat); lopasa and kroshtri (jackal); jahaka (hedgehog); svan (dog); krishna-karna-garddabha (black-eared ass); sukara (pig); krikalasa (reptile); lohita (red snake); ajagara (boa constrictor); godha (iguana); pridaku (adder); manduka (frog); akhu (mole); nakula (mongoose); panktra; kasa, manthala, painga, eni and asita (kinds of mouse); svitra (a kind of white animal); sisumara (porpoise); nakra (crocodile); kulipaya, ulo, halikshni, vrisadamsa, pidva, kundrinachi, and galatika (kinds of animals); matsya (fish); udga (a kind of crab); kasyaka (tortoise); plushni (a species of noxious insect); bhringa (black bee); masaka (fly or mosquito); krimi (a worm). (I have followed Monier Williams' Sanskrit-English Dictionary and Mahidhara's commentary in the renderings of the above names.

1. The slaughtering of the other animals bound to the sacrificial stakes takes place next.

2. S. Br., xiii, 2, 7 and 8, 1-4.

3. Ibid., (S. B. E.), p. 322 f.n.

too firmly established in popular practice to be excluded from the sacrifice. Decorum does not permit me to give here its details which may be gathered from the references noted below¹.

KNIFE-PATHS.

Knife-paths (asi-patha) are then prepared by the wives of the sacrificer by means of needle of gold, silver, and copper. They are intended to serve the sacrificer as bridges to the heavenly world and secure for him people and royal power, the needles standing for the people and the *asvamedha* sacrifice itself the royal power².

THEOLOGICAL COLLOQUY.

The priests repair to the *Sadas* where they take their seats and enter into a theological colloquy of which only four questions are asked and answered at this place. It is resumed in front of the *Havirdhana* shed where the priests remove and adds the sacrificer to their company. Here the rest of the questions five in number are asked and answered³.

Mahiman CUPS AND OMENTUM AND GRAVY OFFERINGS.

After the drawing and offering of the first *Mahiman* (greatness) cup to *Prajapati* by the *adhvaryu* in the *Havirdhana* shed for conferring greatness upon the sacrificer the cooked omentum and gravy oblations are made to the deities in an order about which there are differences of opinion. They are favoured by the offering of the second *Mahiman* cup to *Prajapati*⁴.

OTHER OBLATIONS.

Among the additions to the rituals of the *ukthya* sacrifice performed on this most important day of the *Asvamedha* none other worthy of note are left to be mentioned than the large numbers of oblations such as the

1. Vajasaneyi-Samhita, xxiii, 18-32; S. Br., xiii, 2, 8, and xiii, 2, 9.

2. S. Br., xiii, 2, 10.

3. Ibid., xiii, 5, 2, 11-22.

To give an idea of the dialogue, I put below two questions and answer: Question. 'Who is it that walketh singly?' Answer. 'Surya (the sun) walketh singly.'

Question. 'Whose light is there equal to the sun?' Answer. 'The Brahman is the light equal to the sun.'

See S. Br., (S. B. E.), pt. v, p. 388. (xiii, 5, 2, 13, 13.)

4. S. Br., xiii, 5, 2, 23 and 5, 3, 1-7.

three sets of *Aranye-muchya*, two to death, six called *Dvipada*, and the *Svishtakrit*¹.

LAST DAY OF THE *Asvamedha*.

The rituals of the last day of the *Asvamedha* are the same as those of the last day of an *Atiratra* sacrifice except the larger number (about twenty-four) of bovine victims², and a few additions to the concluding rituals

1. Ibid., xiii, 3, 4-5 and 6, 1-4.

2. Ibid., xiii, 3, 2, 3 and 5, 3, 11.

I have left out of account in my descriptions as a rule the many *sastras* and *stotras* with their varied tunes and arrangements.

such as the oblation offered on the head of a deformed person during the purificatory bath of the sacrificer, preparation of the twelve messes of rice for the priests, gifts to the *ritvijas*, and seizure of twenty-one barren cows¹.

The sacrifice practically comes to a close with the performance of the rituals of this day but as a supplement, six animal victims are offered by the sacrificer to each of the six seasons during the next year².

1. S. Br., xiii, 3, 6, 5 and 7, and xiii, 5, 4, 24-27.

2. Ibid., xiii, 5, 4, 28.

LIST OF AVAILABLE MANUSCRIPTS ON POLITY OR ITS SUB-TOPICS

(Continued)

(143) RAJA-NITI.

Canarese language and character.

Taylor op. cit., vol. I, p. 531, No. 1476, sec. 2.

MS. No. 1462 (No name mentioned). Various matters—chiefly in Sanskrit slokas in Canarese character—*Achogini* (legion); *Brahmi lakshana* (description of a fortified camp); *Mahāratha-ādiratha lakshana* (the property of the first great chariot); *Pancha-dhara* (horses' paces in war); *Saktitraya-lakshana* (three modes of power or military forces, their qualities);

Rajakaryyaniti (how a king ought to act in dealing with a hostile force);

Panchama-lakshana (five kinds of warlike arms *ratha*, *gaja*, &c. So far kingly matters).

Taylor, op. cit., vol. I, p. 565, No. 1462.

(144) MANAVALA-NARAYANA-SATAKAM.

"Relates the appendages of a court and metropolis.

"The editor..... sometimes found himself at a loss accurately to distinguish the respective offices of Mantri. *Prathāni* and *Dalavayi* or *Dalakarten*.

"(1) *Brahmanā mahatvam*, the dignity of Brahmanas.

"(2) *Raja Muraimai*, the economies of kings. The *Raja* must understand four things (sic.); that is to say, the law of Manu, to (?) listen to the advice of the Mantri (counselling minister), he must be himself intelligent, of good natural capacity, and must know the nature of his kingdom. He must be patient as regards the ear, the eye and the mind. Being thus qualified, he must sway the sceptre;..... he must observe the proper times for managing affairs. He must know the proper place wherein to conquer his enemies..... We must have valiant troops, wealth, provisions and like preparations; he must make large grants and charitable gifts.....

"(3) *Vaisiyar perumai*,—the honour of merchants.—The merchants must skilfully conduct their own business. They must not lay on too large profits. Whosoever comes to them, they must preserve an even and correct balance. If the dishonest come offering to leave a pledge, they must give them no loan, but if the honest come, and only ask a loan, without pledge, they must give it. In writing their accounts, they must not allow a mistake, even if no more than the eighth part of a mustard-seed. They will assist a very (public) measure even to the extent of a crore of (money). Such is the just rule of a mercantile class.

"(4) *Vellarher perumai*,—the honour of agriculturists. The *vellarher*, by the effect of their ploughing (or cultivation) maintain the prayers of Brahmanas, the strength of kings, the profits of merchants, the welfare of all. Charity, donations, enjoyments of domestic life, and connubial happiness, homage to the gods, the *sastras*, the *Vedas*, the *Puranas*, and all other books, truth, reputation, renown, the very being of the gods, things of good report or integrity, the good order of castes, and manual skill; all these things come to pass by the merit (or efficacy) of the *vellarher* plough.

"(5) *Purudar Muraimai*,—the occupation of men.

"(6) *Pattanam Muraimai*,—the requisites of a town.

"(7) *Mantri mutalanayarkal muraimai*—the duties of the king's ministers. The proper office of the Mantri is to acquaint and advising the king concerning the nature of becoming proceedings, and concerning such as ought to be rejected. The *Dalakarten* is, according to time and his own strength, to conquer the enemies of the state. The *Prathāni* manages carefully the treasure, the internal administration of the kingdom, with all connected matters. The *Rayasen* (or Secretary) must be able to read fluently,

must have a good memory as to what is said to him, and must be able to write down instructions without error, or omission. The *Karmen* (or Accountant) must have his account true as the sun; or even if the sun should happen to rise in the west, at least his account must not vary. The *Tanapati* (or ambassador) must be skilful in speech, in the decorum of princely assemblies, and the excellencies or peculiarities of other kings.

"(8) *Narakala muraimai*,—the result of propitious times.

"(9) *Vahana muraimai*,—decorum of vehicles.

"(10) *Narguna menmai*, the excellence of good disposition."

Taylor, op. cit., vol. III, p. 15, No. 2108.

(145) *VIDAKTA MUKHA MANDANAM*,

by *Sarangadhara*.

"Treating interalia of *Rajaniti*, in Telugu character. It contains kingly morals and some rules for people how (sic) to obey. (leaf 1-72)."

Taylor, op. cit., vol. II, p. 47, No. 653.

(146) *DEVA RAYA SILA SASSANKAL*.

"Contains 17 inscriptions of which the seventh treats of the *Prathani* or treasurer of *Harikara* raya, who was named *Canda danda*, fully repaired the injuries done by the *Muhammadans* at *Vellore* who had demolished some fane there, and presented those repairs as an offering at the shrine of *Chennakesava* raya. (The date 1152 is equivalent to A.D. 1230, and corresponds with the period of first *Muhammadan* irruption)."

Taylor, op. cit., vol. III, p. 67, No. 2347.

(147) *SVARODAYA*.

by *Narapati*.

On warfare.

List of Sanskrit MSS. discovered in Oudh during 1879. Prepared by Pandit *Deviprasad* p. 116. Printed at the N. W. P. and Oudh Government Press.

(148) *YUDDHAJAYOTSAVA*.

On military tactics.

Ibid., p. 116.

(149) *KHADGA-LAKSHANA*.

On *sastra-lakshana*.

Oppert, vol. I, p. 467, MS. No. 5948.

(150) *CHHURIKA-LAKSHANA*.

P. D. Maharaja of Travancore.

On *sastra lakshana*.

Ibid., vol. I, p. 469, MS. No. 5976.

(151) *DHANURVEDA*.

H. P. Sastri's Cat. *Durbar*.

Libr., Nepal p. 190, No. 557.

(152) *DHANURVEDAPRAKARANAM*.

Ibid., p. 191 No. (2) 2.

(153) *SAMGRAMA-VIDHI*.

On the art of war. It gives a definition of *Akshauhini* and treats of the disposition of the army in war. But it deals destruction more with mantras than with weapons.

Ibid., p. 264, No. (2) 112.

154 *SALIHOTRONNAYAS*.

On horses suitable for a king.

Burnell's Tanjore Catalogue p. 74.

(Concluded.)

THE LOVE-POEMS OF RABINDRANATH TAGORE

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH OF LOUIS CHADOURNE.

SINCE the Nobel Prize, and the great success of 'Gitanjali,' the majority of the reading public in France do not seem to have given the works of Rabindranath Tagore the sustained attention which they deserve,—no doubt for want of translations. This Hindu,—in whom a curious fusion of the Oriental mind and European culture has taken place,—presents however a fine example of universality to our disjointed age. As a philosopher, his studies on 'Nationalism' are of real interest; and the few echoes that have reached us in France of his lectures in America and Japan, have provided us with ample matter for reflection. One can perceive from these notes the judgment passed by Eastern thought on the nations and civilization of modern Europe.

As a poet, Rabindranath Tagore is known in France only by "Gitanjali" or "Song Offerings," of which M. André Gide has given us such an excellent translation. This book, however, shows us only one aspect of the poetic spirit of Tagore,—his religious or mystic side. However important it may be, this aspect is a partial one only. Several collections of poems, of which I know no French translations, enable us to complete the poet's characteristic features, which thus appear wider in range and more human also. I have in my hands, for example, a book whose English editions were all sold out during the war, and which Macmillan has just republished,—"The Gardener." These poems are certainly much less known in France than "Gitanjali," and were mostly

written much earlier. "Poems of love and life" (thus Tagore defines them)—our Western appreciation perhaps finds them more touching and more penetrating than the lyrical and mystical verses of the 'Song Offerings,'—so far-reaching and so harmoniously-flowing withal. Like 'Gitanjali,' 'The Gardener' is a translation from the Bengali, which we owe to the author himself,—who warns us that it is not quite literal.

Nothing of our European culture,—our poetry, philosophy or art,—is unknown to Rabindranath Tagore. If the taste of this Indian man of letters has nothing to gain in refinement from contact with us, his sensitiveness has become broadened and enriched through his gleanings from our European authors: Keats, Shelley, Heine, Verlaine, etc.,—to mention only the poets. Their delicately sensitive and sorrowful verse has, no doubt, troubled the serenity of this young Hindu, whose fine and grave features are depicted in a beautiful portrait forming the frontispiece of the book. It is not improbable either, that he may have plunged, cursorily at least, in the vast waves of Whitman's lyric verse. The question of so-called literary influences belongs to the province of commentators, but would it not be interesting to try and distinguish,—tentatively and from afar,—all the elements which may have combined to form this poetic consciousness?

From childhood, his mind decked itself with the sparkling splendour of Oriental literature. Bred in the land of a thousand religions, he has seen the long procession of theogonic dreams pass by; he must have listened to the priests of many gods, and meditated on the banks of the sacred streams. His religious education and the obscure memories of his race have contributed to create the atmosphere in which even his more mundane poetry is steeped;—and this mystic atmosphere diffuses love and life around the human drama. With the whole of wonderful India behind him, Tagore has welcomed whatever was precious in that which modern Europe had to offer. And this makes him a fine centre of cross-rays, if one comes to think of it.

It is precisely in these "lyrics of love and life" that one can most easily grasp in their complexity, all the subtle and intimate reflections of Tagore's poetic nature. It is in the great and simple themes of the lyric poetry of all time, rather than in

philosophical or religious poems, that we can discern the outlines of this poetic figure,—placed between two worlds.

There is nothing of an anthology about 'The Gardener.' It is a collection of poems, with love for the principal theme,—poems which are short as a rule, but which follow one another and are linked together like the *motifs* and measures of a symphony. The lyric note of Tagore is essentially musical. This does not imply a formal and verbal harmony, which is nevertheless very real and perceptible, even in the translation. It is something more intimate and more profound: a sequence whose logic does not consist in the association of subjects and images, but which is regulated by a sort of inward impetus, a secret rhythm. These poems are neither rigidly-framed pictures, nor developments of ideas. They are songs; the echo of one reverberates in another; joy, melancholy, love and restlessness mingle and separate and alternate in accordance with the rhythm of a tumultuous heart, and the modulations of an exquisite refinement. It is a song of the flute! It is lyrical poetry, essentially lyric, untouched by anything which approaches rhetoric,—that rhetoric so dear and so fatal to our French poets, even the greatest;—without any declamation, any forced emphasis, any straining after effect; something light and æthereal, adorned with the one grace,—ease.

Nothing could be further removed from grandiloquence. Verbal artifice and pomp are things unknown to the verse of Tagore. The more delicately-shaded and refined it is inwardly, the more sober and simple it is in appearance, devoid of all redundancy. The sonorousness of his diction is always subdued, just as the brilliance of his imagery is delicately veiled: like precious stones softened by muslin. It is in the very excess of these two qualities,—ease and simplicity,—that lies the greatest defect of Tagore's poetical works. Too much facility, fluidity and inconsistency in the development of the poems,—these are the weeds,—perhaps too common,—of this collection. Certain English critics have not spared him in this connection. The snobbery of women of the world has done him no good either. All the same, the somewhat "orange-blossom" flavour of 'Stray Birds,' for example, should not make us forget the youthful freshness

and charming simplicity of 'The Gardener.' Let us keep to that.

This simplicity is in harmony with the scenes in which the inward drama of the poet is acted,—the villages full of light and silence, the lanes scented with mango-blossoms, the trees bursting with birds, and the shady streams where the young girls come to draw water. Tagore is not a realist. He does not describe to us, either for art or pleasure, the charming scenes of this Indian countryside, where he probably spent a good part of his youth. But nature mingles incessantly with his desires, with his love, with the movements of his soul. For him she does not seem to be the old *Maya* with deceitful forms,—the changing tissue of our dreams. She is a veritable element of his life.

Trees, water, flowers, bees, the night, the wind,—all these form a living procession for the poet. They are the animated train of the lover and the beloved :

The night is dark. The stars are lost in clouds. The wind is sighing through the leaves.

I will let loose my hair. My blue cloak will cling round me like night. I will clasp your head to my bosom ; and there in the sweet loneliness murmur on your heart. I will shut my eyes and listen. I will not look in your face.

When your words are ended we will sit still and silent. Only the trees will whisper in the dark.

The shadow of the coming rain is on the sands, and the clouds hang low upon the blue lines of the trees like the heavy hair above your eyebrows.

Is it then true that the dewdrops fall from the eyes of night when I am seen, and the morning light is glad when it wraps my body round ?

The greater number of Tagore's similes are drawn from nature, and this not from any poetic artifice, but because there is really an interpenetration between the poet's soul and the world-movement as a whole. Pantheism, pan-animism ! What is the good of these big abstract words, and what do they explain ? The poet enjoys the splendour of the world, sometimes with intoxication,—“I run as a musk-deer runs in the shadow of the forest, mad with his own perfume,”—always with a sort of tenderness. There is in him the gentleness of the reverend Brahmins. It is a vast world, in which everything has its place, and its inestimable value ! A ray of the sun,—the smile of a young girl, illumines the universe ; a child's sadness darkens it : “A blade

of grass is as precious as the sunset in its glory and the stars of midnight.” There is the joy of living and of mere inconsequence also :

Over the green and yellow rice-fields sweep the shadows of the autumn clouds followed by the swift-chasing sun.

The bees forget to sip their honey ; drunken with light they foolishly hover and hum.

The ducks in the islands of the river clamour in joy for mere nothing.

Let none go back home, brothers, this morning, let none go to work.

Let us take the blue sky by storm and plunder space as we run.

Laughter floats in the air like foam on the flood.

Brothers, let us squander our morning in futile songs.

This feeling of universal life is often expressed in Tagore by a keenness of sensuous delight. There is no seeking after that “Nirvana” which haunts the so-called “Hindu” poems of Leconte de Lisle. In the flower-beds of ‘The Gardener’, there are no flowers with stupefying perfumes. Neither is Tagore merely contemplative. In certain poems of his, there is something of the hymn-chants of Francis d’Assisi : an active and joyous mysticism, softened sometimes by a melancholy without bitterness. The poet's wealth is so immense, that he can give beyond measure, and scatter his love like a prodigal. He welcomes peace and joy with an equal tenderness ; he knows inevitable destiny as well as the charm of renewal ; he knows that “all our creations of beauty are veiled with a mist of tears.”

Infinite wealth is not yours, my patient and dusky mother dust !

You toil to fill the mouths of your children, but food is scarce.

The gift of gladness that you have for us is never perfect.

The toys that you make for your children are fragile.

You cannot satisfy all our hungry hopes, but should I desert you for that ?

Your smile which is shadowed with pain is sweet to my eyes.

Your love which knows not fulfilment is dear to my heart.

From your breast you have fed us with life but not immortality, that is why your eyes are ever wakeful.

For ages you are working with colour and song, yet your heaven is not built, but only its sad suggestion.

Over your creations of beauty there is the mist of tears.

I will pour my songs into your mute heart, and my love into your love.

I will worship you with labour.

I have seen your tender face and I love your mournful dust, Mother Earth.

Love, beauty, knowledge, nothing is complete, nothing is ever finished. But let not this certainty give rise to any sadness. Let not this clear vision of the future prevent us from living in the present. On the contrary, Tagore has nothing in common with the ascetic who slowly retires more and more within his cell. Neither is he at one with the epicurean and his bitterness. No resignation; no harshness: only a serenity full of love:

Beauty is sweet to us, because she dances to the same fleeting tune with our lives.

Knowledge is precious to us, because we shall never have time to complete it.

All is done and finished in the eternal Heaven.

But earth's flowers of illusion are kept eternally fresh by death.

Brother, keep that in mind and rejoice.

This clear wisdom, the fruit of maturity, the tumult of youth has never gained mastery over it. In the poems of 'The Gardener', we find so many echoes of youth mingled with the calmer and graver tones of ripening years. Restlessness, the pulsing fever of the unknown:

"I am restless; I am athirst for far-away things."

"Far-away things!" A search, albeit hopeless, for happiness; a pursuit of "the dancing image of desire". We find in this Hindu poet something again of the "Schnsucht" of Heine, and that ardour combined with a certain clear-sightedness, which belonged to our dream-laden youth. At the same time, no romantic frenzy possesses him: his poetic feeling has no trace of over-emphasis, and his lyrical fervour always retains that equilibrium and sobriety which our literary ethnologists consider to be the special characteristics of the Latin races.

Balance, refinement, tenderness: these three words express fairly well the character of those love-poems which are most numerous and attractive in 'The Gardener'.

The love of which the poet sings, has nothing in it of what is commonly called "passion". It is just that sentiment from which poems may harmoniously spring,—if it be true that there is no poetry of passion. Stendhal has said: "It is foolish to record the extremes of passion." No doubt that is why Musset's Pelican leaves us cold. If it is difficult for the romance-writer to handle the extremes of feelings, it is impossible for the poet to do

so without falling into declamation. The poet is seen at his best in that mixture of desire, tenderness and shyness, that giving-and-taking-back of oneself, that shimmering of delicate shades, that emotion tempered by smiles, which are the attributes of a kind of love, less common than "passion", and more favourable to poetry.

It is this very love which Tagore sings. The poet speaks in turn for the lover or the beloved. Certain poems alternate, like answering chants. This, together with the pastoral images, and the perfect pictures of the country, as well as the intimacy of the sentiments expressed,—make of the whole a mixture of antique simplicity and refinement, which is very modern,—quite a present-day eclogue.

A delicate notation of emotions and sentiments, around which the poet's imagination groups a whole host of images, musically amplified by rhythm and lyrical impulse,—thus one can dryly define some of the love-poems of 'The Gardener'. A quotation is better than a dissertation. Here is a short poem which describes the shyness of a young woman in love:

When I go alone at night to my love-tryst, birds do not sing, the wind does not stir, the houses on both sides of the street stand silent.

It is my own anklets that grow loud at every step and I am ashamed.

When I sit on my balcony and listen for his footsteps, leaves do not rustle on the trees, and the water is still in the river like the sword on the knees of a sentry fallen asleep.

It is my own heart that beats wildly—I do not know how to quiet it.

When my love comes and sits by my side, when my body trembles and my eyelids droop, the night darkens, the wind blows out the lamp, and the clouds draw veils over the stars.

It is the jewel at my own breast that shines and gives light. I do not know how to hide it.

And here is the lover who hides his desire, and does not express his longing:

Your claim is more than that of others, that is why you are silent.

With playful carelessness you avoid my gifts.

I know, I know your art,

You never will take what you would.

There is nothing shadowy and vague in this love—only the taste of present joy, minutely enjoyed. Without any soaring after the inaccessible, the poet takes delight in all the subtle flavours of the hour of love:

Hands cling to hands and eyes linger on eyes, thus begins the record of our hearts.

It is the moonlit night of March; the sweet smell

raised on a distant perspective of light and shade! With him, the simplest words sometimes possess infinite resonances and mysterious harmonies. Beneath the transparent texture of the verses, shadows lengthen and reflections flit across. It is just this that enables one to recognize the magician's wand, the poet's genius. Their magic consists in the power of "giving life." They are "life-giving."

Perhaps imagination alone is not enough. The secret power of love is also necessary (in the widest sense of that much-used word); and I think of this verse of Tagore's with hardly any alteration: "Is it true, is it true that your love has travelled alone through ages and worlds in search of me?"

Translated by
INDIRA DEVI.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

ENGLISH.

THE DENIED (A BOOK OF POEMS)—By Basudev, published by Richard G. Badger, Boston, U. S. A.

A distinguished Indian Professor tells me that when he was in England last, he had occasion to talk with the Manager of the Macmillan Company and he came to learn, much to his surprise, that ever since Tagore's poetry had won extra-ordinary fame, books of verse began to pour in interminably from Bengal, each advertising itself as a supreme 'master-piece' in Bengali literature. At first, these effusions were sent to Readers of Macmillan like Mr. G. K. Chesterton and others to be tested; but when it was found out, (and that without delay,) that the uniqueness and originality of these productions lay mostly in the originality and fulsomeness of their self-advertisement and in nothing else, they began to be despatched to that "land from whose bourne no traveller returns."

America seems to be a wonderful country. It is a country where counterfeits easily pass for coins and megalomaniacs of all kinds are given a cordial reception. Spiritualism, occultism, seances, palmistry, fatidical powers, magic, necromancy, mantras and Tantras, Sadhus and Swamis and what not—soon get a foothold in America. A new people—they have a feverish craze for the new. This craze misleads them often; they are inveigled into taking shadows for the substance. They become ready fautors of people who would be better inmates of Bedlam. So while Macmillan consigned the cartloads of Bengali 'masterpieces' to the wastepaper basket, Mr. Badger, an American publisher, has been thanking his stars because 'he has' been the happy discoverer of a rare genius, a rival of the world-renowned poet Rabindra Nath Tagore, and perhaps, in some respects, much superior to him. We should all hail Mr. Badger as another Columbus, in the field of literature!

But, unfortunately for Mr. Badger, no one in Bengal, here, knows Basudev Bhattacharyya, the litterateur. The Editor of the 'Modern Review' is also the Editor of the 'Pravasi' a well-known Bengali monthly magazine of long standing. Mr. Badger might have enquired of him concerning the prodigy he had discovered and he would have been told that Basudev was absolutely an unknown man in Bengali literature and was never the "Editor of a number of periodicals in his native language"—at least not of any periodical that we knew of. He is described by Mr. Badger as "one of the leaders of the young

Hindus both in this country as well as in India" and as leading the "rival school of Tagore." Young Hindus in this country will be given some food for amusement by this introduction and the dare-devils among them will be tempted to try their fortune in America, where such men like Basudev can thrive. Everyone wonders who this clever chap Basudev might be and what his antecedents had been before he set out on his bold adventure as a rival poet of Rabindranath Tagore.

The few lines "In Gratitude" by way of preface written by the author of the "Denied" and the Editor of the "Superman," modestly ascribe publication of his poems to the "requests" of the "sponsors of the Poets' Federation movement." So, a Joint-stock Company of poets has been started! The concluding sentence gives a true confession:—"I thank them with all the gratitude of one whose name shall ever be condemned as a pretender." Amen!

A few specimens of 'real metric verse,' in which Basudev is declared to be an adept, may be given below to furnish some examples of his passionate love of 'life' and 'supermanism':—

"To every beating of thy heart
To every glance of eyes alert,
To two lips in dreams half-part,
Always I drink—always!"

"Drink, my lord: To the drain my wine of death;
Drink! Say no other word;
Move not her eyelids, not a feign of breath:
Drink! Drink my faithful lord:
Not a star doth shine through hovering mists
In the dreadful above!
With eyes only death—I watch her wrists
She—my venomous love!"

Surely to be able to drink to "two lips in dreams half-part" shows an exuberance of life and love and the second extract of 'venomous love' smacks, indeed, of the superman. Basudev's 'superman' finds life not in self-assertion like Nietzsche, the prophet of the Superman, but in self-surrender, in being the "Denied." That is something curious, is it not?

So much for the puffs of the rival poet of Tagore. We do not know the condition of the book-market in America. But when we find that in America, a man like Basantkumar Roy shamelessly advertises himself as an intimate friend of Tagore (which, by the way, is false) and brings out his biography, not knowing anything about him and having the least power to understand his poetry, and

American publishers readily take up his things, we wonder whether it pays them to publish such worthless books, for they are not catering for the patent-medicine public. If such rubbish pays in America, it is not at all creditable to the American reading public. Advertisement of publishers may lavish fulsome panegyrics on worthless books—but they cannot furbish up utter inanities. And, sooner or later, they should realise that in the world of belles-lettres such bolstering-up of effete and insipid wares defeats its own ends.

We have been compelled to say hard things and to expose Basudev, lest Americans think all Indians to be pretenders like him.

AJITKUMAR CHAKRABARTI.

INTERESTING SELECTIONS FROM THE WRITINGS OF MOULVI MUJIBUR RAHMAN, *Editor of the Musalman*. Published by R. Rahman. "The Musalman" Book Agency. 4, Elliot Lane, Calcutta. Pp. 76. Price six annas.

The selections are really interesting. The article on "Indian Unity" should be carefully read.

AGAINST ANIMAL SACRIFICE by Krishnagiri Bhimsena Rao and Lalsing Hazarising Ajwani (*The Bombay Humanitarian Fund*, 309, Shroff Bazar, Bombay, 2). Pp. 52. Price four annas.

The authors try to shew that "Animal sacrifices for religious rites are against the commandment of God". Mr. Ajwani's conclusions are based on the commentary of the Vedas by Swami Dayananda Saraswati.

HORRORS OF CRUELTY TO ANIMALS by T. Ramalingam Pillai, M.A. and S. G. Subramanian. Published by the Honorary Manager, Bombay Humanitarian Fund, 309, Shroff Bazar, Bombay 2. Pp. 48. Price four annas.

Should be widely circulated.

CLASSICAL PASSAGES FOR REPRODUCTION by S. D. Kothare, M.A., and Y. G. Talpade, B.A., (124, Dady Shet Agiary Lane, Bombay). Pages 95. Price twelve annas only.

This little book contains 140 passages most of which are taken from standard authors.

In the introductory portion, the authors have given (i) the paraphrase of the passages, (ii) the exact sense, as well as (iii) the main idea. This is followed by 30 passages fully worked out. The second part of the book contains 40 passages with outlines, the third part 30 passages with hints and the fourth part 40 passages for reproduction (exercises).

It will prove useful to Matriculation candidates.

THE HOLY SYMBOLS by Jamsetji Dadabhai Shroff, *Author of the Holy Fire*. Pp. 164. Price Rs. 2. To be had of Messrs. D. B. Taraporevala, Sons & Co., 103 Meadows Street, Fort, Bombay. The Introduction (pp. 1—xxix) has been written by A. Gobindacharya Swamin, Vidyabhusana, Vedantaratna, M.R. A.S., M.R.S.A., etc.

According to the author, who is a worshipper of Ahura Mazda, the Fire of the Parsi, the Lotus of the Hindu, the Crescent of the Mahomedan and the Cross of the Christian are all Divine symbols, but the fire gives a clearer and nearer vision of the Divine Presence than the symbols of all other religions.

THE RISHI JIVAN PRAKASHAM, *A Guide to Holiness, Health and Happiness*. Ray No. 1. Published by N. Hanumayya, Rammohun Mission, Bezwada, Krishna Dt., Madras. Pp. 24. Rates for supporters Re. 1; for sympathisers annas 8; for subscribers annas 4 and for students annas 2.

This booklet contains thoughts on various subjects selected from various sources.

SELECTIONS FROM SEVERAL BOOKS OF THE VEDANTA, TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINAL SANSKRIT by Raja Rammohun Roy. Pp. 22. Price annas 2.

This work was originally published by the Tattva-bodhini Sabha in 1844 and is now published by Dr. V. Rai. It is not to be found in any of the editions of the Raja's collected works. It contains the Text and the English translation of 42 passages selected from the Katha, the Isa, the Kena and the Mundaka Upanishad and has an introduction which is now found prefixed to the English translation of the Isopanisad. We congratulate Dr. Rai on his rescuing it from oblivion after three quarters of a century, and we are grateful to him for the service he has done.

MAHESHCANDRA GHOSH.

I. SIR SUBRAMANIA IYER, II. BAL GANGADHAR TILAK, III. LALA LAJPAT RAI, IV. M. K. GANDHI, V. J. N. TATA.

All these little sketches belong to the Eminent Indians Series of Messrs. Natesan & Co., of Madras, and some of them have already been reviewed in this magazine. They are timely and useful publications, and will no doubt have a large sale.

VI. AND VII. MR. MONTAGU ON INDIAN AFFAIRS: *Ganesh and Co., Madras*. SPEECHES ON INDIAN QUESTIONS BY MR. MONTAGU: *Natesan and Co., Madras*.

These two well-printed volumes running into several hundred pages, and both furnished with a very useful index, are extremely timely publications, and will meet a very widely-felt want. Mr. Montagu's Indian speeches breathe the true spirit of liberal statesmanship, and ring true and reveal the man that he is. Sir S. Iyer compares him with Burke in the foreword contributed by him to Messrs. Ganesh & Co.'s publication, and truly says that if even he fails in his mission there can be no greater misfortune for India and England.

VIII. THE BI-PARTY SYSTEM—A CONDITION OF RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT: *by the Hon'ble V. S. Srinivasa Sastri*. IX. THE CONGRESS-LEAGUE SCHEME: AN EXPOSITION: *by Ditto*.

The first contains copious extracts from eminent constitutional writers and historians. The second is one of the series of political pamphlets brought out by the Servants of India Society, Allahabad. They are well worth perusal in connection with the burning political problems of the hour.

X. GOPALERISHNA GOKHALE: *by R. P. Paranjpye*.

This excellent illustrated booklet has already been reviewed in this magazine. Being priced at four annas only, it deserves a large sale.

XI. D. K. KARVE: *by R. P. Paranjpye*.

This sketch of Professor Karve is also by Principal Paranjpye. Prof. Karve's well-known activities on behalf of female education and Hindu widows have been fully described here and those who want to know what part the educationists of Poona are taking in the movement for female emancipation should read it and try to profit by it.

XII.—XX. THE VOICE OF THE EAST ON THE GREAT WAR (POEMS); INDIA FOR INDIANS (speeches by C. K. Das); MR. SHAUKAT ALI AND MR. MOHMAED ALI (collection of their mother's letters published by the central Bureau to help the Muslim Internees, Delhi); INDIAN EMIGRATION ON CEYLON ESTATES; THE INDIAN EMIGRANT ON CEYLON ESTATES; Ditto (Emigration series No. 1); NOTE ON COMPULSORY PRIMARY EDUCATION IN BANDRA AND BROACH; EMIGRANT DIFFICULTIES AT MANDAPAM; REPORT OF THE LUCKNOW SOCIAL CONFERENCE.

XXI. SOME THOUGHTS ON EDUCATION IN INDIA: by Prarnathanath Mukhopadhyaya.

Sir John Woodroffe contributes an interesting introduction to this thoughtful and very readable essay, in which he says something about the danger of making too clean a sweep of India's peculiar culture. The following extract is worthy of our consideration: "There is a pretended 'Spirituality' which springs from causes by no means spiritual, such as a lazy evasion of, and lack of courage to face, life; and a mere negative attitude towards it without value. True spirituality is, as all else which has worth, something positive. To back out from life simply because it displeases or causes fear; to hope by merely shutting the world from view to mechanically achieve realisation; to suppose that mere mental torpor is illumination, is not true spirituality. . . . It is a weakness of the ascetic method that it tends (or at least may be understood in a sense which tends) to produce these results. For this reason the Shaktatantra and its positive method of enjoyment-liberation (Bhukti-Mukti) is so valuable. By this method one attains liberation whilst eating the sweet (though often unhappily bitter) fruit of this world. . . . This is the Shakta's Religion of Power. Through it he sees and realises himself as Power (Shakti) transforming both himself and the world around him without renouncing either. It is such a virile spiritual type which India needs to-day for her social and political regeneration."

XXII. THE CONGRESS-LEAGUE SCHEME: by A. Rangaswami, Iyengar (with a foreword by Mrs. Annie Besant).

This neatly printed pamphlet, brought out by the 'Commonweal' Office, Madras, contains some valuable statistical tables and an able discussion of the Congress-League Scheme in which, incidentally, the weakness of the Curtis scheme is exposed.

XXIII. HINDU-MUSLIM PROBLEMS: by Hon'ble Yakub Hasan, Natesan & Co. Madras.

XXIV. AGGRESSIVE HINDUISM: by Sister Nivedita. Natesan & Co., Madras.

Both these little brochures deserve thoughtful study by all interested in Indian progress. The former is more political than social, and the latter is almost entirely social, but both the booklets throw interesting side-lights on vital domestic problems.

XXV.—XXVII. SPEECHES AND WRITINGS OF BAL GANGADHAR TILAK. HEROES OF THE HOUR (Tilak, Gandhi, Subramania Iyer). INDIA'S CLAIM FOR HOME RULE. Ganesh & Co., Madras.

The price of these three books, varying from Rs. 1-8-0 to Rs. 2, is quite cheap when we consider the excellence and volume of the contents, the beautiful letter-press, binding and get up, and the high rates prevailing in the paper-market. Mr. Tilak's speeches need no introduction. In 'India's Claim for Home-rule' (pp. 54, and an exhaustive and very useful index)

we have extracts from the speeches and writings of eminent Indians and Europeans which are most valuable for handy reference. 'The Heroes of the Hour' deal with the lives of three most fearless workers in the field of politics. Mrs. Annie Besant in her short foreword says: "Here are three noble Indian types, worthy of our homage and admiration. May many more such heroes come to us. . . ." The words of Vivekananda are quoted at the top of the Proem: "Your country wants heroes; be heroes." The words uttered by Mr. Tilak when he was sentenced to six years' transportation are truly historic: "There are Higher Powers that rule the destinies of men and nations and it may be the will of Providence that the cause I represent may be benefited more by my suffering than by my freedom." The following lines of Oliver Wendell Holmes, quoted in the title page, will bear repetition:

A time like this demands
Great hearts, strong minds, true faith,
and willing hands;
Men whom the lust of office cannot kill,
Men whom the spoils of office cannot buy:
Men who possess opinions and a will:
Men who have honour, men who will not lie.

Q.

(1) THE LIFE OF SEETA DEVI as studied from the Present Angle of Vision, by Mukund Vinayak, Retired Vahivaldar, Baroda Government. Published by M. V. Sharugapani at House No. 707, Sadashiv Peth, Poona City. Pp. 70. Price—Annas Eight.

The book is divided into three chapters, the first of which briefly narrates the life of Sita as found in the *Adhyatma-Ramayana*, a part of the *Brahmanda Purana*; the second gives the observations made by our author on some special events in the life of Sita and her character; and the third has been devoted to the "present angle of vision," in which the ancient state of society has been contrasted with the existing one. After going through the preface we expected to have something really good but were disappointed. The author commences his book with the life of Sita, but concludes it by soliciting from the British Nation Self-government for India.

One thing we should like to say here particularly. The story of Sita's life has been taken in the book, as mentioned above, from the *Adhyatma Ramayana*, of the importance of which we are fully aware. And apparently in accordance with it (VI. 10. 24-30, Calcutta, Vangavasi Ed. 1295, B. S.) Mr. Vinayak writes (pp. 24-25) that monkeys attempted playing several pranks to make Mandodari naked even before her husband, Ravana, who was unmindful of these efforts concentrating his whole attention on the sacrifice he was performing. Here the author of the *Adhyatma Ramayana* goes a step further, and has undoubtedly committed the gravest wrong possible by writing that Angada actually made Mandodari naked ("कटि प्रदेष्टाद विप्रुक्ता नौवौ," verse 27) of which

nothing is, and can be found, in the *Ramayana* of Valmiki. The evil consequence of outraging a woman's modesty has vividly been depicted not only in the *Ramayana* but also in our other great Epic the *Mahabharata*. This is one of the highest and noblest ideas and lessons of the *Ramayana*, yet it is very unfortunate that the author of the *Adhyatma Ramayana* has paid no heed whatever to it.

(II) LEAVES FROM THE DIARY OF A HINDU DEVOTE by "Zero," Published by the Panini Office, Bahadurganj, Allahabad. Pp. ix+196.

It contains a number of stray thoughts written mostly from the Vedantic standpoint. They originally appeared in parts in the 'East and West.'

VIDHUSHEKHARA BHATTACHARYA.

THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS—Published by Messrs G. A. Natesan & Co. Madras. Pp. 1600, Cloth bound. Price—Rs. 4.

The volume under review contains an account of the origin and growth of the Congress; full text of all the presidential addresses; reprint of all the Congress resolutions; extracts from all the welcome addresses, and notable utterances on the Congress Movement. The book is likely to serve as an authentic book of reference. A comprehensive and exhaustive index adds to its value. The volume is profusely illustrated with portraits of all the Congress Presidents.

SANSKRIT AND ENGLISH.

THE SACRED BOOKS OF THE HINDUS, VOLUME XX. *The Daily Practice of the Hindus* (Nos. 97-99, July to September 1917). By Rai Bahadur Srisa Chandra Vidyaratna. Published by Babu Sudhindranath Vasu at the Panini Office, Bahadurganj, Allahabad. Pp. viii+193. Annual subscription:—Inland Rs. 12-12 as. Foreign £1. The price of this volume is Rs. 5.

It is the third and revised edition of the book and is more than double the size of the 2nd edition.

This book contains 14 chapters and an appendix. Everything connected with the daily practice of the Hindus has been dealt with in the book. The awakening recitations, the Guru, Bathing, Tarpana, Gayatri, the Sandhya of the Rig-Vedins, the Sandhya of the Samvedins, the Sandhya of the Yajurvedins, the Tantriki Sandhya, the Sandhya for all men, the puja of Narayana, Ganespuja, Suryapuja, Devipuja, Sivapuja, mid-day duties—Homa, five great sacrifices, food—these are the subjects treated in the book. Some of the Vedic Mantras have been thoroughly explained in the appendix. To every Hindu who has some knowledge of English, this book is indispensable, and Non-Hindus will find in it an ideal of Hindu spirituality.

MAHESUCHANDRA GHOSIL.

RATNAKARANDA-SRAVAKACHARA, (or the Householder's Dharma) of Sri Samantabhadra Acharya, Translated into English with an Introduction by Champal Rai Jain, Barrister-at-Law, Author of the Key of Knowledge, the Practical Path, the Science of Thought, etc., etc. Publisher Kumar Devendra Prasad, The Central Jaina Publishing House, Arrah (India). Pp. xlvii+71. Price Annas 12.

The book as the very name shows, gives the established rules of conduct (आचार) of the householders (आवक) belonging to the Jain Community, and its importance has also been shown by the author himself calling it a 'Basket of Gem's' (रत्नकण्ड).

The author of the original work which is composed of only 150 verses in Sanskrit is the celebrated

teacher, Samantabhadra, 'said to have lived about the latter part of the 2nd century, A.D.'

The translation may serve the purpose of general readers, but is not scholarly, nor accurate in some cases.

VIDHUSHEKHARA BHATTACHARYA.

SANSKRIT-BENGALI

NYAYADARSANA, VIZ., GAUTAMA SUTRA AND VATSYANABHASHYA, Edited with Translation, Commentary, Explanation and Notes by Pandita Phambhusana Tarkavagisha. Part I. Published by Ramakamala Sinha from the Vangiya Sahitya Parishat Office, 243-I, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta. Royal 8vo. Pp. 48+430. Price Rs. 2-8; for the members of the Parishat Rs. 1-8; for those of the Branch Parishats Rs. 2.

Professor Phanibhushana Tarkavagisha of the Philosophy College in the town of Pabna, Bengal, is one of the greatest Pandits in this part of the country now living with and teaching, day and night, a number of pupils on our ancient or national line of imparting education. The big volume lying on our table contains the first Adhyaya, i.e., one-fifth of the Nyaya Aphorisms of Gautama and the Commentary thereof of Vatsyana, both in original Sanskrit in Bengali character, as well as the Bengali translation of both of them by the Professor, together with a big Commentary by him in Bengali supplemented by elaborate notes. He has spared no pains in explaining the texts fully utilizing the works by Uddyotakara, Vachaspati Mishra, and Udayanacharya. The translation and the Commentary are, indeed, worthy of his erudition, and judging from an Indian Pandit's point of view we have no hesitation in saying that Pandit Tarkavagisha Mahashaya's present work is very suitable to those who desire to master the great bhashya as it is explained by Uddyotakara and other writers of the school. In such a philosophical work as it is, it is hardly possible that all will agree with one another in all points, so we could not concur with the author in some cases which we have pointed out reviewing the book to some extent in the leading Bengali monthly the *Pravasi* edited by the Editor of this Review. The volume could have been considerably condensed and the language of part of the translation should have been made simpler.

VIDHUSHEKHARA BHATTACHARYA.

HINDI.

MOHINI by Mr. Bhaiyalal Jain and published by the Central Jain Publishing House, Arrah. Crown 8vo. pp. 83. Price as. 8.

The plot of this novel is laid almost in pre-historic days. The author has introduced some unnatural things in the book, which make it no better than the "aiyari" novels in Hindi. However, in its own class, the novel is not bad and is interesting. It is instructive as well. The get-up is good.

ISHVAR CHANDRA VIDYASAGAR by Pandit Onkarnath Bajpaiya and published by him at the Onkar Press, Allahabad. Crown 8vo. pp. 125. Price—as 5.

Nobody can over-estimate the value of biographies like this. They do a great national work if put

into the hands of young men. There was a want of such books in Hindi written in a systematic manner, and the publication of the series will remove the want to a great extent. The book under review is well-written both with respect to the information supplied and the marshalling thereof.

"PARLIAMENT" by Babu Suparshwa Das Gupta, B.A., and published by the Rajputana-Hindi-Sahitya Sabha, Jhalrapalan. Crown 8vo. pp. 256. Price—as. 14.

This book gives a constitutional history of Parliament and it will be certainly very useful to students of history and readers of newspapers, as also to others. The increase in number of books like these, shows that Hindi Literature is becoming many-sided, which augurs well for it. The book under review contains accurate information, and its get-up is good.

SACHCHA VISHWAS by Mr. Shwamsundar and published by the Central Jain-Publishing House, Arrah. Crown 16mo. pp. 42. Price—as. 2.

This is a Hindi translation of the late Shree Kaishav Chandra Sen's "True Faith." The language is good. A halftone of Mahatma Gandhi adorns the title-page and the book is dedicated to him. The get-up is very nice.

THE REPORT OF THE SEVENTH HINDI-SAHITYA SAMMILAN, PARTS I & II, published by the Reception Committee at Jubbulpur. Crown Quarto pp. 105 + 211. Price—as. 6 & 10.

The Report keeps up the traditions of the reports of the Sammilan in earlier years. Some of the thesis read at the Sammilan are very useful and add to the information on the subject of Hindi Literature. The get-up is nice and the description of the Sammilan is exhaustive. The President of the Sammilan was Sahityacharya Pandit Ramavatsa Sharma and his address though severely commented on in certain quarters, is certainly a masterpiece in its own way, though it was written in a great hurry.

SWARGIYA JIVAN by Mr. Sukhsampatti Rai Bhandari and published by him at Bhanpur, Indore, also by Dulichand Singhai, Hiragh, Bombay No. 4. Crown 8vo. pp. 156.

This is a translation in chaste Hindi of the well-known English book "In Tune with the Infinite". The book contains some of the practical philosophy for which India has been so famous. Its views are certainly sound and the translation has not marred the effect of the original.

CHICAGO-VAKTRITA published by Brahmachari Chandranath, Shree Ramkrishna Advaitashrama, Laksha, Fenares City. Foolscap 16mo. pp. 50. Price—as. 4.

This is the Hindi translation of the famous speech of Swami Vivekananda at Chicago. The speech glorifies the Hindu religion. The language of the publication is quite satisfactory and the get-up is good. The book contains in a nutshell the principles of Hindu theology.

M. S.

SANSKRIT.

•VALLABHACHARYA'S (I) SEVAPHALAM with Twelve Commentaries. Pp. 116. Price Re. 1. (II) NIRODHAKSHANAM with Six Commentaries and Gujarati Translation. Pp. 104. Price—Re. 1. Edited by Mulachandra Tulsidasa Tekwala, B.A., LL.B., and Dhairyalala Vrajadasa Sankaliya, B.A., LL.B., Vakils, High Court, Khakar Building, C. P. Tank Road, Girgaon, Bombay.

These two books are respectively the sixteenth and fifteenth of the famous sixteen short treatises of Vallabhacharya, the founder of the *Suddhadvaita*, 'Pure Non-Duality' School of the Vedanta Philosophy, and the great champion of one of the four principal Vaishnava churches (*Sampradayas*), viz., the *Rudra-Sampradaya*, otherwise called the *Pushtimarga*, 'the Path of Divine Grace' ("पोषणं तदनुग्रहः," अनुग्रहस्य भगवद्वर्गः पुष्टिः), which was originally founded by Vishnusvamin in the early part of the 15th Century A. D.

(I) *Sevaphala*, as indicated by its name, describes the consequence of the service of God together with the hindrances in the way of its realisation stating also the means for overcoming them.

(II) *Nirodhakshanam* aims at giving the true nature of *nirodha*. *Nirodha* according to the *Pushtimargis* means complete confinement of a devotee from the world to the Adorable One (भगवान्), or briefly, the attachment of a devotee to the Lord forgetting the world completely ("भक्तानां प्रपन्न विस्मृति-पूर्विका भगवदासक्तिः")

With a view to give an idea of this little work we are tempted to cull the first two couplets from it :

यच्च दुःखं यशोदाया नन्दादीनाञ्च गोकुलि ।
गोपिकानाञ्च यद् दुःखं, तद् दुःखं स्थान्
मम क्वचित् ॥ १ ॥
गोकुले गोपिकानां तु सर्वेषां व्रजवासिनाम् ।
यत् सुखं समभूत् तत् ते भगवान् किं विधास्यति ॥ २ ॥

"Will the anguish of Yasoda, and the anguish of Nanda and his kindred souls, as well as the anguish of the Gopikas in Gokula ever be mine? And will the Adorable One also grant the joy of the Gopikas, as well as the joy of all the residents of Vraja to be ever mine?"

So the Divine Love is a wonderful mixture of acute pain and intense joy as described in the *Vidagdha-madhava* (II. 37) :

प्रीडाभिर्नय-काञ्चुककटुता गर्वस्य निर्वासनो
निःसन्देहं सुदां मुधामधुरिमाह्वारसङ्कोचनः ।
प्रेमा सुन्दरि, नन्दनन्दनपरी जागर्ति यस्यान्तरे
जायन्ते स्फुटमस्य वक्रमधुरा स्तेनैव विक्रान्तयः ।"

It purports to say that Divine Love is more tormenting than fresh poison and far sweeter than ambrosia. Its hostile, yet very sweet, powers can be felt only by him in whom it is awakened. A true devotee, the author of the *Sree Chaitanyacharitamrita*, an authoritative devotional work in Bengali,

belonging to the Chaitanya School of Vaishnavism, says that Divine Love produces pain of poison outwardly but inwardly it is nothing but nectar, comparing it with a piece of heated sugarcane which cannot be left though cauterising the mouth, and finally concluding that it is a mixture of poison and ambrosia :—

বাহে বিষভালা হয়, ভিতরে অমৃতময়
কৃষ্ণ-প্রেমের অদ্বন্দ্ব চরিত,
এই প্রেম আশ্বাদন তত্ত্ব ইকু চক্ষণ
মুখ বলে, না যায় তাজন।
* * *
বিষামৃতে একত্র মিলন।

Those who are interested in Vaishnavism, particularly as represented by the Church of Vallabha, should read this sort of original works not entirely relying upon such writings as Prof. R. G. Bhandarkar's *Vaishnavism, Saivism, and Minor Religious Systems*, or the article on *Bhaktimarga* in the *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*, in which the skin of the fruit has been given much more than the kernel contained in it.

VIDHUSHEKHARA BHATTACHARYA.

MARATHI.

HACH MULACHA BAP : A PLAY IN THREE ACTS.
By Bhargavram Vitthal Varerkar. Published by Mahadev Vishnu Agashe, Bookseller, Budhwar Chowk, Poona City. Pp. 118 with ten illustrations. Price 12 as.

Deccani society is in a flux and the forces that are operating upon it have strangely moved Deccani dramatists and playwrights to come forward and give utterance to the thoughts that seethe in the brains of the Deccani people.

In 'Hach Mulacha Bap' Mr. Varerkar seems powerfully affected by the cruel custom of exacting dowries from the father of the bride. Snehalata's suicide in particular seems to have left a deep impress on his imagination and we get in this social comedy a powerful indictment against the dowry system. In scene after scene we have unfolded before us a grim picture of the awful tragedies that are daily being enacted all over Maharashtra in the name of dowry. The play is a comedy which for quick action, bubbling humour and splendid denouement will be hard to match in Marathi literature. If a system can be laughed out of existence by a powerful literary work, we think the dowry system in Maharashtra will surely be laughed out by Varerkar's 'Hach Mulacha Bap.'

Next to its exquisite humour is to be noted the simplicity of its plot. Like the Greek classic plays and their imitations the French plays of Racine, Mr.

Varerkar's play has one central motif and the whole play moves round the bringing about the marriage of Yamuna and Vasant which for want of dowry seems impossible.

The characterisation too is good. Rao Bahadur Kale, the greedy dowry exacter, is painted true to life and he is a good specimen of what Rao Bahadurs generally are—social reformers on the platform, recanters at home. Gulab, the friend of the hero is a wholly lovable young man, witty, sarcastic and full of high spirits. He is equal to any emergency and he really dominates the play. Manjari, the daughter of Rao Bahadur, is a very forward girl but one feels one would like to meet her in real life and crack a few jokes with her. She is very well drawn as a study of a girl in the B. A. class at a college. The hero and heroine are not very remarkable persons, though they do have an individuality of their own.

The play holds a true mirror up to Deccani society wherein it can see its failings and correct them. On the whole it is a remarkable play that is sure to become a classic in Marathi literature and worthy to be placed by the side of Deval's 'Sharada.'

PUSTAKANCHI YADI No. 11 for March 1918 or a catalogue of Marathi books, Bulletin no. 11 for March 1918. Issued by Parchure, Puranik and Co., Booksellers and Publishers, Madhav Baug, Bombay No 4. Pp. 72.

We have great pleasure in noticing this catalogue of Marathi books and we congratulate Messrs. Parchure, Puranik and Co., for issuing it. It is very difficult to find a firm of Marathi booksellers issuing catalogues of the books it has for sale and Marathi book lovers do not know where to look up a particular book they are in search of. Messrs. Parchure Puranik & Co., should add descriptive notes under each book to guide the book buyer in the selection.

S. B. ARTE.

GUJARATI.

ABALA NO KINO (अबलानो कौनो), by Ardeskar Kharshedji Desai, Editor of the Navarang, printed at the Navarang Printing Press, Bombay. Cloth bound, pp. 138. Price Re. 1-4-0. (1918).

This book is not even an adaptation, but a translation, of an English Novel. It is full of English words, English phrases, and English expressions. One does not know what service the writer has rendered to the cause of literature by this translation, excepting the satisfaction of his *amour propre*, that every year he would publish one novel. To pass an idle hour, no doubt, such publications are desired, and they come out in their hundreds too.

K. M. J.

GLEANINGS

The Cradle more Fatal than the Trench.

Which would you rather be, a new-born babe or a soldier in the trenches? In which condition would your chances of living a year be greater? This

sounds like a foolish question. One would naturally suppose that a baby, sheltered in the home and tended constantly by loving hands, would have a better chance of living than a soldier in active service. And yet the contrary is true. The perils of shot and

shell, of bayonet thrusts and bursting hand-grenades, of disease from exposure or infection—all these exact a toll of life considerably less than that paid by the nurseries.

"Let us compare the losses. In a statement recently made public, Newton D. Baker, Secretary of War, says: 'Up to June 1 the losses of the British expeditionary forces from deaths in action and deaths from wounds were about 7 per cent of the total of all the men sent to France since the beginning of the war.' The war began three years ago, hence this total loss of 7 per cent since the beginning of the war means a yearly loss of but little more than 2 per cent.

"The accuracy of this statement is strikingly confirmed by the published statement of an English insurance company—the London Prudential—which shows that out of a total of two million British soldiers insured, the losses during the present war have amounted to 30 per 1,000 per annum; but since the deaths in times of peace among men of the same age amount to 10 per 1,000 per annum, we must deduct the normal mortality (10 per 1,000) from the war-losses (30 per 1,000), leaving war responsible for only twenty deaths a year in each group of 1,000 men in service. Twenty deaths per 1,000 is two deaths per 100, or 2 per cent, as stated by Secretary Baker. This is the toll of war.

"Let us see now what happens in the nurseries. Out of every seven babies born, one dies before it is a year old. One in seven is more than 14 in the hundred. So the soldier braving disease and death in the camp and on the battle-field has a seven times better chance of life than the new-born baby.

"Out of 2,500,000 babies born every year in the United States, more than 350,000 die before they are a year old. Of the same number of soldiers only 50,000 will die in a year as a result of their exposure to the risks of war.

"Terrible as is the toll of life exacted by war, the losses suffered by our infant population through improper foods and clothing, the ignorance of midwives, and—alas!—of mothers also, is yet more terrible. To our shame be it said that our soldiers on the field of battle are safer than our infants in their cradles.

"It is not possible, of course, to save the life of every little one that is born; but infant-welfare experts estimate that at least 50 per cent. of the deaths are preventable. This is proved by the fact that in other countries the death-rate in the first year of life has been reduced to less than half the death-rate in the United States. Also, by the fact that in certain cities in the United States infant mortality has been reduced to a point that is less than half the average for the whole country."

It might be added, of course, that every soldier has to pass both the perils of the cradle and the trench, since every soldier has first to be a baby, while every baby does not necessarily become a soldier, and hence may face but one of the two dangers.

—The Literary Digest.

Fooling the Enemy's Eye.

"The quickness of the hand deceives the eye," was the old shibboleth of the magician; but modern science, enlisting art, has created a subtler agency of deception than even the old necromancers knew. Its name is camouflage. We hear it everywhere; but most of us who are removed from the war-zone have seen none of its manifestations. It is now the

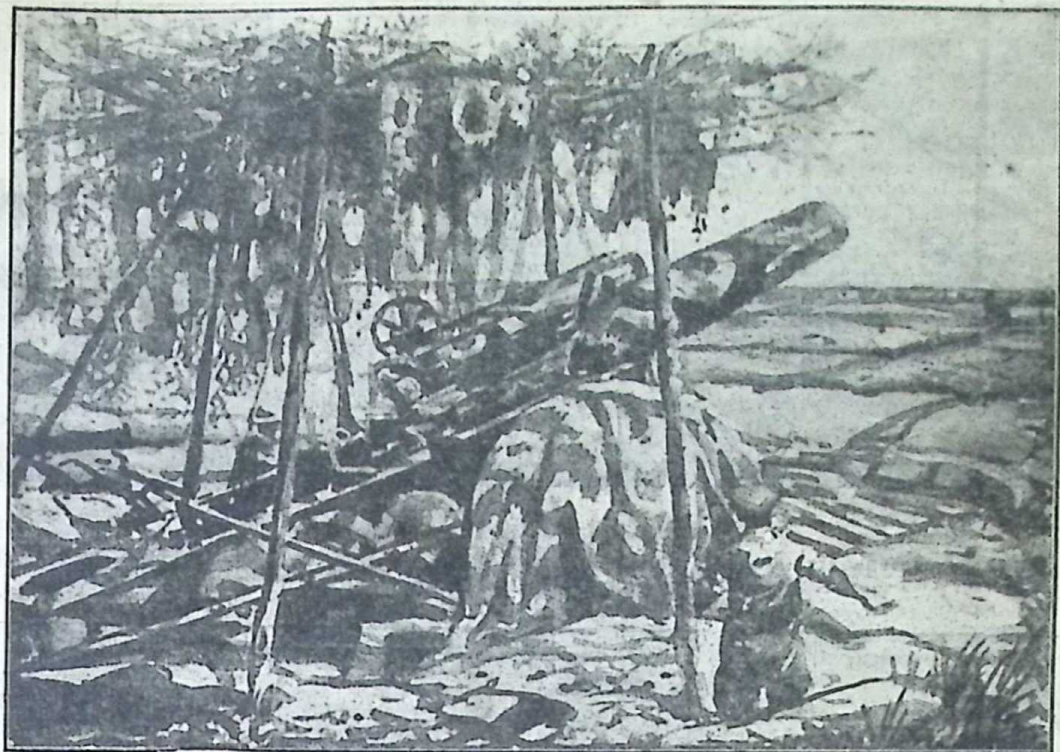
skill of the hand, and not its quickness, which deceives the eye. The aeroplane has "put the third dimension into reconnaissance, and the enemy's eye, instead of being restricted to width and breadth of observation, now travels in vertical lanes, flashing the sky with incredible swiftness of sight." "It is the aeroplane, that has given to modern warfare a new weapon of defense and protection—camouflage."

It is not one entirely new thing among the hundreds of novelties the war has produced, but its chief novelty is temperament, which plays a part of the game of successful deception.

"Camouflage is the art of concealment; it is an old art reborn into prominence through extreme necessity. The screening of trench-furrows with leaves and sod, which was practised in former wars, is as true an expression of the art as is practised to-day, where miles of roadways are sheltered by avenues of made-to-order trees and hedges and painted scenery. It differs only in the degree of the increased powers of the enemy's observation, which the aeroplane, driven by keen-eyed observers and equipped with all-seeing cameras, has raised in equal proportion to the vastness and scientific ingenuity of the modern war-game. Camouflage is not an incidental function to modern warfare; it is a vital equipment. It is the garment of invisibility that is capable of not only protecting the individual soldier and the furniture of war, but of screening the movements of an entire army. It is an art that is still in its crude stages of development and one that is capable of almost unlimited possibilities. The French, with characteristic alertness, were quick to appreciate its great usefulness and employ and continue to use it with rare skill; the Germans lost no time in their endeavor to outdo the French, and the English accepted it as a modern necessity, but practised it at first with a heavy hand and with a lack of grace and imagination. As H. G. Wells humorously puts it in his book, 'Italy, France, and Britain at War': '... many of the British tents look as tho they had been daubed over by protesting man muttering "Foolery!" as he did it. With a telescope the chief points of interest in the present British front in France would be visible from Mars. ... But the effect of going from behind the French front to behind the English is like going from a brooding wood of green and blue into an open blaze of white canvas and khaki.'

Mr. Wells is quoted for the sake of pointing out "forcibly that camouflage is not merely a matter of daubing paint, but that it calls for the right sort of daubing and the right sort of color, and, above all, demands skilful consideration and direction." Low visibility is not a new ideal of warfare. The American Indian with his primitive resources was more than a match for redcoats. The first experiments aimed to make the guns look like the foliage in which they were enmeshed, so paint was applied to this purpose. But when a gun was moved up and happened to be placed in an open country, its previous camouflage only aided its visibility. The French, with their natural alertness to the uses of science, saw in the protective coloration of birds and animals a solution of this perplexing question:

"They began at once to experiment along this line, bearing in mind that the coloration of animals seems to have been done by a kind Providence for the purpose of breaking or disguising the outlines of the animal and to counteract as far as possible their under-shadows. With this in mind, the camoufleurs darkened the high lights along the top of a gun-barrel and



LEOPARD-SPOTS AND OVERHEAD SCREENING.

The dappled marking on the gun aims to distort its form, the huge wheels with their caterpillar feet are draped with a mottle cloth. The overhead screening is made with leaf-netting and tattered canvas; holes have been cut and the light showing through repeats the mottling on the gun and adds to the effect of the confusion, leading the observer to doubt its military value.

lightened its under surfaces, using for their paint colors that were agreeable to the existing surroundings. And then with this as a foundation they began 'breaking' the outlines with irregular streakings and blotches, all very weird to behold at close range; but at a distance, if they did not accomplish invisibility, they gained what they were unable to do before, and that is the confusion to the eye. A gun painted in this way became a 'What-is-it?' It raised a doubt in the mind of the observer; it disarmed his suspicions, and accordingly blinded him to its importance. In other words, this new method of painting accomplished invisibility by giving to objects a sort of harmless insignificance. Painted in this way, aero-sheds, tents, and the various gigantic instruments of war are modest, shrinking deceptions. They seem to say, 'Tut, tut, don't look at me; I am nothing!'

"But to accomplish this degree of distraction is not an easy matter; the camoufleur finds the problem of 'breaking outlines' the most difficult of his art, for the reason that he must contend with the painting of surfaces which in most cases are composed of angular planes, projections, and overhanging edges with their underlying shadows. In the case of animals, and especially with birds, this is almost entirely eliminated, since the furred and feathered surfaces here are softly modeled and the light falls upon them with the most gradual gradations of

tone from the upper to the lower and under-surfaces. In addition to this, an animal or bird can always 'lie low,' and by crouching close to the ground can 'squash away' the telltale shadows of the deeper under-surfaces. Furthermore, the protective markings in animals are usually more perfect in the smaller animals, and especially the helpless young, and in these cases the markings are small in scale—that is, they correspond in size to the crinkled forms of dried leaves, lichen, and fragments of tree-bark and the like.

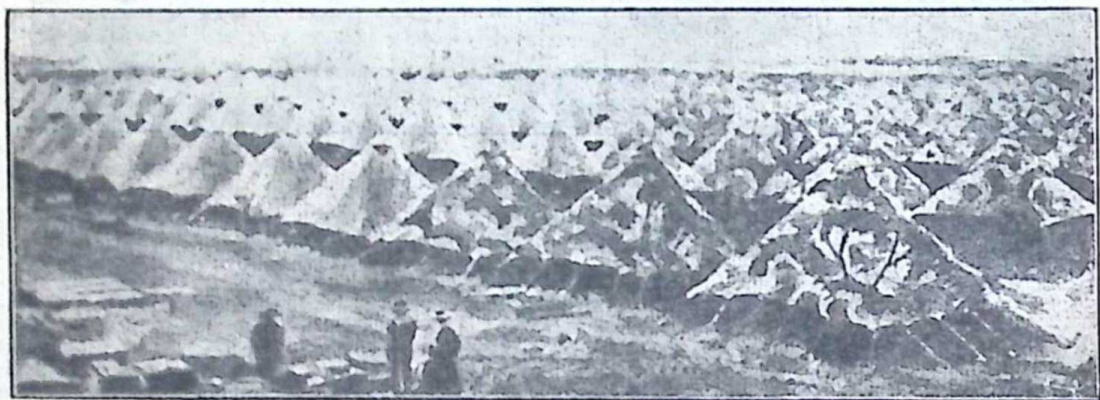
"In contrast to this the camoufleur's task is almost in proportion to the comparative increase in the size of the objects that he must conceal. His protective markings must be in scale with tree-trunks and boulders or the scarred upheaval of the shell-torn earth. He must constantly struggle against obliterating mechanical surfaces, sharp angles, cogs and wheels, and, worst of all, he must fight against the suppression of the infinite shadows cast by projections, to break the sharp mechanical edges and wipe out, if possible, the shadow cast by the entire object. Paint alone cannot always accomplish this obliteration of form, especially in the larger guns; but it is nevertheless constantly employed as a basis for protection, and further augmented by the use of reed or leaf nettings supported on posts above the guns and often in front and on both sides."

The next step we are shown was the introduction



HOW A ROAD IS CONCEALED.

Strips of canvas stretched overhead hide a roadway from aeroplane observation. Wing screens along the side serve also to efface the lines of the road.



VEILING THE REGULAR OUTLINES OF A CAMP.

The tents on the mottled side of this picture merge with the ground, while those uncamouflaged stand out in sharp lines. The irregular markings make the outlines of the tents hard to distinguish.

of a counterattraction. "Following the 'Tut, tut, don't look at me,' came the logical, 'Oh, say, look at this,' the 'this' being, of course, something very carefully and apparently carelessly exposed with the object of attracting attention away from the 'don't look at me.' " It is in this particular, and the ingenious development of this idea, says this architect-soldier, that camouflage can claim originality:

"And it is also through this side of the work that camouflage gained its popular recognition; the game of 'fooling the Boche' appealed to the people and amused them tremendously, and altho, or perhaps because, the work was fraught with danger it must have brought considerable satisfaction and amusement to the camoufleurs themselves. A joke is a joke the world over, even if it is light-hearted or grim as death: and while it has raised camouflage to the prominence and popularity of a slang word, it has also robbed the art of its dignity and seriousness. We are too ready to associate the work of the

camoufleurs with their mirth-provoking accomplishments, the fakes and tricks and amusing deceptions, and to overlook their thoroughly important work of concealment.

"As a protection against aerial observation, strips of green are stretched over the roadways diagonally from pole to pole, forming a sort of crisscross network. When viewed from a great height this green lattice is sufficient to counteract the bright glare of the road and to a great extent conceal whatever movement of troops may be going on beneath it.

"It must be remembered that the enemy does not rely entirely upon visual observations; in fact, most of the location maps, trench-lines, and the like are made from photographs taken through a telescopic lens. For this reason the camoufleur must count to a certain extent on the effect of color on a photographic plate. Blues, for example, photograph very light; in fact, all the cool colors appear a good deal lighter in a photograph than do the warm colors.

Accordingly, the matter of the proper use of color, or, rather, the use of proper colors, becomes a very important factor in the painting of protective markings and outline distortions."

—*The Literary Digest.*

An official statement, recently published in England, declares that it has been stated at various times in the Press that the Admiralty have not realised the value of camouflage as a means of assisting to defeat the attacks of enemy submarines on mercantile shipping, and that such camouflage as has been tried is not of British origin.

The official document continues: It can be stated that the Admiralty are fully alive to its value, and several months ago a system of camouflage was originated. The principles governing it cannot be divulged at present, but it may be said that it has not invisibility for its basis.

The theory of rendering ships invisible at sea by painting them various colours is no longer tenable. Endless endeavours have been made in this direction, and numerous schemes have been given fair trial by the Admiralty under actual conditions at sea. The results of these trials have invariably been disappointing and it has been finally established that unless a vessel and her smoke can be rendered absolutely invisible no useful purpose is served.

The application of Thayer's Law is most commonly put forward as a means of obtaining invisibility. This, broadly speaking, is an adoption of Nature's means for eliminating shadows and so reducing the visibility of birds and animals at close quarters either for purposes of attack or defence, and it is stated that this can be applied to ships by painting the ceilings of promenade decks or other projecting structures white in order to eliminate all shadows. Actual experiences at sea have proved that this is a fallacy, and that the paint itself, being dependent on the light of the sky, will not overcome shadows.

The scheme now in use has been extensively taken up not only by the British, but also by the Allied Governments, and no stone is being left unturned to utilise this important asset, which is only one of the many devices which are used to combat the enemy's submarine activity.—*The Bengalee.*

The Meeting of the East and the West

By SIR RABINDRANATH TAGORE.

For over a century and a half India has borne a foreign rule which is western. Whether she has been benefited by it, whether her arts and industries have made progress, her wealth increased and her opportunities of self-government multiplied, are a matter of controversy which is of very little material interest to the present generation of our countrymen, as it cannot change facts. Even from the point of view of historical curiosity it has a very imperfect value, for we are not allowed to remember all facts except in strict privacy. So I am not going to enter into any discussion which is sure to lead to an unsatisfactory conclusion or consequences.

But one thing about which there has been no attempt at concealment or difference of opinion is that the East and the West have remained far apart even after these years of relationship. When two different peoples have to deal with each other and yet without forming any true bond of union, it is sure to become a burden, whatever benefit may accrue from it. And when we say that we suffer from the dead weight of mutual alienation we do not mean any adverse criticism of the motive or the system of

government, for the problem is vast and it affects all mankind. It inspires in our minds awe verging upon despair when we come to think that all the world has been bared open to a civilisation which has not the spiritual power in it to unite, but which can only exploit and destroy and domineer and can make even its benefits an imposition from outside while claiming its price in loyalty of heart.

Therefore it must be admitted that this civilisation, while it abounds in the riches of mind, lacks in a great measure the one truth which is of the highest importance to all humanity; the truth which man even in the dimmest dawn of his history felt, however vaguely it might be. This is why, when things go against them, the peoples brought up in the spirit of modern culture furiously seek for some change in organisation and system, as if the human world were a mere intellectual game of chess where winning and losing depended upon the placing of pawns. They forget that for a man winning a game may be the greatest of his losses.

Men began their career of history with a faith in a Personal Being in relation to whom they had their unity among themselves. This was no mere belief in ghost but in the deeper reality of their oneness which is the basis of their moral ideals. This was the one great comprehension of truth which gave life and light to all the best creative energies of man, making us feel the touch of the infinite in our personality.

Naturally the consciousness of unity had its beginning in the limited area of race—the race which was the seed-plot of all human ideals. And therefore, at first, men had their conception of God as a tribal God which restricted their moral obligation within the bounds of their own people.

The first Aryan immigrants came to India with their tribal gods and special ceremonials and their conflict with the original inhabitants of India seemed to have no prospect of termination. In the midst of this struggle the conception of a universal soul, the spiritual bond of unity in all creatures, took its birth in the better minds of the time. This heralded a change of heart and along with it a true basis of reconciliation.

During the Mahomedan conquest of India, behind the political turmoil our inner struggle was spiritual. Like Asoka of the Buddhist age Akbar also had his vision of spiritual unity. A succession of great men of those centuries, both Hindu saints and Mahomedan sufis, was engaged in building a kingdom of souls over which ruled the one God who was the God of Mahomedans, as well as Hindus.

In India this striving after spiritual realisation still shows activity. And I feel sure that the most important event of modern India has been the birth and life-work of Rammohan Roy, for it is a matter of the greatest urgency that the East and the West should meet and unite in hearts. Through Rammohan Roy was given the first true response of India when the West knocked at her door. He found the basis of our union in our own spiritual inheritance, in faith in the reality of the oneness of man in Brahma.

Other men of intellectual eminence we have seen in our days who have borrowed their lessons from the West. This schooling makes us intensely conscious of the separateness of our people giving rise to a patriotism fiercely exclusive and contemptuous. This has been the effect of the teaching of the west everywhere in the world. It has roused up a universal spirit of suspicious antipathy. It incites each people to strain all resources for taking advantages of

others by force or by cunning. This cult of organised pride and self-seeking, this deliberate falsification of moral perspective in our view of humanity, has also invaded with a new force men's minds in India. If it does contain any truth along with its falsehood we must borrow it from others to mend our defect in mental balance. But, at the same time, I feel sure India is bid to give expression to the truth belonging to her own inner life.

Today the western people have come in contact with all races of the world when their moral adjustment has not yet been made true for this tremendous experience. The reality of which they are most fervidly conscious is the reality of the Nation. It has served them up to a certain point, just as some amount of boisterous selfishness, pugnacious and inconsiderate, may serve us in our boyhood, but makes mischief when carried into our adult life of larger social responsibilities. But the time has come at last when the western people are beginning to feel nearer home what the cult of the nation has been to humanity, they who have reaped all its benefits, with a great deal of its cost thrown upon the shoulders of others.

It is natural that they should realise humanity when it is nearest themselves. It increases their sensibility to a very high pitch, within a narrow range, keeping their conscience inactive where it is apt to be uncomfortable.

But when we forget truth for our own convenience, truth does not forget us. Up to a certain limit, she tolerates neglect, but she is sure to put in her appearance, to exact her dues with full arrears, on an occasion which we grumble at as inappropriate and at a provocation which seems trivial. This makes us feel the keen sense of the injustice of providence, as does the rich man of questionable history, whose time-honoured wealth has attained the decency of respectability, if he is suddenly threatened with an exposure.

We have observed that when the West is visited by a sudden calamity, she cannot understand why it should happen at all in God's world. The question has never occurred to her, with any degree of intensity, why people in other parts of the world should suffer. But she has to know that humanity is a truth which nobody can mutilate and yet escape its hurt himself. Modern civilisation has to be judged not by its balance-sheet of imports and exports, luxuries of rich men, lengths of dreadnaughts, breadth of dependencies and tightness of grasping diplomacy. In this judgment of history, we from the East are the principal witnesses, who must speak the truth without flinching, however difficult it may be for us and unpleasant for others. Our voice is not the voice of authority, with the power of arms behind it, but the voice of suffering which can only count upon the power of truth to make itself heard.

There was a time when Europe had started on her search for the soul. In spite of all digressions she was certain that man must find his true wealth by becoming true. She knew that the value of his wealth was not merely subjective, but its eternal truth was in a love ever active in man's world. Then came a time when science revealed the greatness of the material universe and violently diverted Europe's attention to gaining things in place of inner perfection. Science has its own great meaning for man. It proves to him that he can bring his reason to co-operate with nature's laws, making them serve the higher ends of humanity; that he can transcend the biological world of natural selec-

tion and create his own world of moral purposes by the help of nature's own laws. It is Europe's mission to discover that Nature does not stand in the way of our self-realisation, but we must deal with her with truth in order to invest our idealism with reality and make it permanent.

This higher end of science is attained where its help has been requisitioned for the general alleviation of our wants and sufferings, where its gifts are for all men. But it fearfully fails where it supplies means for personal gains and attainment of selfish power. For its temptations are so stupendously great that our moral strength is not only overcome but fights against its own forces under the cover of such high-sounding names as patriotism and nationality. This has made the relationship of human races inhuman, burdening it with repression and restriction where it faces the weak and brandishing it with vengeance and competition of ferocity where it meets the strong. It has made war and preparation for war the normal condition of all nations, and has polluted diplomacy, the carrier of the political pestilence, with cruelty and dishonourable deception.

Yet those who have trust in human nature cannot but feel certain that the West will come out triumphant and the fruit of the centuries of her endeavour will not be trampled under foot in the mad scrimmage for things which are not of the spirit of man. Feeling the perplexity of the present-day entanglements she is groping for a better system and a wiser diplomatic arrangement. But she will have to recognise, perhaps at the end of her series of death-lessons, that it is an intellectual Pharisaism to have faith only in building pyramids of systems, that she must realise truth in order to be saved, that continually gathering fuel to feed her desire will only lead to world-wide incendiaryism. One day she will wake up to set a limit to her greed and turbulent pride and find in compensation that she has an ever-lasting life.

Europe is great. She has been dowered by her destiny with a location and climate and race combination producing a history rich with strength, beauty and tradition of freedom. Nature in her soil challenged man to put forth all his forces never overwhelming his mind into a passivity of fatalism. It imparted in the character of her children the energy and daring which never acknowledge limits to their claims and also at the same time an intellectual sanity, a restraint in imagination, a sense of proportion in their creative works, and sense of reality in all their aspirations. They explored the secrets of existence, measured and mastered them; they discovered the principle of unity in nature not through the help of meditation or abstract logic, but by boldly crossing barriers of diversity and peeping behind the screen. They surprised themselves into nature's great storehouse of powers and there they had their fill of temptation.

Europe is fully conscious of her greatness and that itself is the reason why she does not know where her greatness may fail her. There have been periods of history when great races of men forgot their own souls in the pride and enjoyment of their power and possessions. They were not even aware of this lapse because things and institutions assumed such magnificence that all their attention was drawn outside their true selves. Just as nature in her aspect of bewildering vastness may have the effect of humiliating man, so also his own accumulation may produce the self-abasement which is spiritual apathy

by stimulating all his energy towards his wealth and not his welfare. Through this present war has come the warning to Europe that her things have been getting better of her truth and in order to be saved she must find her soul and her God and fulfil

her purpose by carrying her ideals into all continents of the earth and not sacrifice them to her greed of money and dominion.

—*Manchester Guardian*.

INTERNATIONAL LAW IN ANCIENT INDIA

BY S. V. VISWANATHA, M.A., L.T.

III. RIGHTS AND OBLIGATIONS IN PEACE.

THE rights and obligations by which the Indian states in ancient India were guided in times of peace form probably the most difficult chapter in the history of Indian International Law. This subject has received very little consideration in the mass of ancient literature, whereas there are elaborate regulations which were to guide the Indian states in their dealings with one another in the conduct of war. Indeed, it may be held, that very little of regulation is necessary for the conduct of states with one another in normal times; still there are certain features of international conduct which are too important to be left out of consideration, viz., as regards diplomacy and alliances, relation of a particular state to the property and subjects of other states, etc. The information on these various heads has to be culled and, in most cases, inferred from the incidents recorded in works of literature. We have more full and detailed information on one phase than the rest, viz., diplomacy and alliances in peace and for war. Even the treatment of diplomacy as a branch of international conduct is in evidence only from the age of the epics. Here as well as in other chapters of international law the work of Kautilya forms a landmark. It is only from the *historic period* that we meet with regulations laid down regarding the principles to which in normal times a nation had to conform in its dealings with the persons and property of the other independent states in India.

The rights and obligations in *normal* times of a state which came within the fold of Indian International Law may be considered as they have been by western

writers on modern International Law under :—

- (a) Rights and obligations connected with *Independence*.
- (b) Rights and obligations connected with *Jurisdiction and Property*.
- (c) Rights and obligations connected with *Jurisdiction and Equality*.
- (d) Rights and obligations connected with *Diplomacy and Alliance*.

(a) INDEPENDENCE AND THE RIGHTS CONNECTED WITH IT.

Independence has been defined as the right of a state to manage all affairs internal or external without control from other states.¹ In India, the subjects of each state must have been conscious of their being subordinate to a higher sovereign authority and "the multitude obey the words of the sovereign" and "the world cannot command him."² The King was throughout the period of ancient Indian history the executive head of the state, for it is he 'who sustains realms'³ and no one should disregard this executive head.⁴ He had the right of issuing laws suited to the needs of the particular state subject, of course, to the all-pervading *dharma*. Though in the early Vedic literature 'there is no reference to the exercise of the legislative activity of the King,' in later times, we find, 'it is an essential part of his duties'⁵ Royal proclamations are common from the time

1 *International Law* : Lawrence. Part II. ch 1.

2 *Mahābhārata* : *Sānti Parva* : *Rājadharmānuśāsana Parva*. Sec. 59, sl. 135.

3 *Satapatha Brahmana* : IX. 4. 1, 3.

4 *M. Bh. Sānti. Rājadharmā*. Sec. 68, sl. 40.

5 *Vedic Index of names and subjects* : Macdonell & Keith, vol. II, p. 214.

of Aśoka, whose edicts stand as glorious monuments to the legislative activity of that king. It has to be accepted, however, that there was very little necessity for any new legislation in India in ancient ages in addition to what was contained in accepted sources of law already in existence.

The head of each state, be it a monarchy or a republic, managed its internal administration in his own way. He must have had the right of certain revenues from his subjects for the expenditure of the realm, as is borne testimony to—though not by the earliest records—by the Dharma-śāstras Nīṭisaras and the epics. He constituted the supreme court of judicature. He was the supreme commander of the forces of the state, had the right of leading the army in person to the field of battle and call upon his subjects for war against other states. Even as early as the age of the Mantras, Indra is reckoned as the leader of the Aryan hosts. The head of a particular state could enter into alliances with kings of other states, conduct wars with others and conclude treaties. He had the right of accrediting ministers to other states on matter of external policy and receive ambassadors in turn sent by others to him.

(b) RIGHTS CONNECTED WITH JURISDICTION.

Generally speaking a state had jurisdiction over all persons and things found within its territory. It, no doubt, recognised private property owned by individuals who must have been allowed to enjoy the fruits of their toil. The travellers passing through the territory of a state were subject to its criminal law.⁶ It had jurisdiction over property within its limits both *real* and *personal*.⁷ As we read in Kautilya's *Arthashastra*⁸ it had also absolute jurisdiction over the vessels that visited its ports and had the right of dealing with piracy on its coasts. The ships that passed over a state's coasts were subject to the local law, tolls and jurisdiction. In the reign of Chandra-gupta Maurya, when the admiralty was organised as a separate department of the military administration, we meet with various rules regulating the conduct of

ships that passed by the ports of a state. The officers in charge could doom to destruction ships of piracy. They could seize those ships that were passing the port on their way to an enemy destination. They could take to task those ships that did not observe the regulation in ports.⁹ It is thus clear from Kautilya's *Arthashastra* that a state had the right of issuing regulations to be observed by the ships on its coasts. A state had also the right of collecting tolls and probably possessed also the right of 'tonnage' and 'poundage'.¹⁰

RIGHTS CONNECTED WITH PROPERTY.

The extent of a state's territorial possessions consisted of land and water, rivers and lakes within a state's land boundaries. It possessed the proceeds of mines, forests, public works, pasture lands, trade-routes, etc., that came within its jurisdiction.¹¹ The limits of the territory of a state were generally marked by natural features, such as rivers, mountain ranges and sea coasts.¹² Racial and linguistic differences as between one set of people and another seem also to have operated, though not to so great an extent, in determining the boundaries of the state's territory.¹³ There were various modes by which a state could *acquire* new territory. The oldest of them was probably by *colonisation* and *settlement*. From the age of the Rig Veda, the Aryas are seen to penetrate into the jungle tracts which were either uninhabited or inhabited by less civilized tribes. The

१ हिंस्रका निर्घातयेत् । अग्निविविषयातिगाः पश्यपत्तन-
चारिचोपमातिकाश्च ।

10 See R. Mookerji's '*Indian Shipping*' for details as regards port regulations, tolls, etc. Part II, ch. 2. *Manu Smṛiti*, ch. VIII.

11 *Arthashastra* II, 6; *Manu* VII, 127, 130-132; *Gautama* X, 24, 27.

12 E.g., *Manu* II, 21; *Ait. Br.* VII, 4, 1. The Gandak and the Kūsi were the natural boundaries of the Videhas; the Ganges and the Gandak those of the Kosalas. The Uttara Kurus lay beyond the Himalayas.

13 E.g. The Māgadhas were the people who spoke Māgadhi.

The Saurasenias were the people who spoke Sūraseni.

The Maharattas were the people who spoke Mahratti.

The Pundiyas were the people in Pāndinād.

The Tōṇḍaimans were the people in Tōṇḍanḍ.

6 *Arthashastra* : Kautilya : Bk. IV, ch. 2.

7 E.g., *M. Bh. Santi : Rājadharmā* : Sec 77, sl. 2.

8 Kautilya's *Arthashastra* Bk. II.

Ramayana, it has been held, tells the story of the attempt of the colonisation of South India by the Aryas of the north and how they met the resistance of the non-Aryan realm of the south in the process of advance southwards.¹⁴ Before the age of the Epics the Aryas had advanced to the region of the Jumna and the Ganges and this onward movement is clearly indicated by the greater geographical knowledge that is revealed in the *Brahmanas*, for instance. Coming to later times, the colonisation of Ceylon by Vijaya from Bengal and the colonisation of Java and other foreign countries are historical examples of this process of acquisition of new territory.¹⁴ A second method of acquiring new territory prevalent in Ancient India was conquest. *Digvijaya* or the conquest of the four quarters, on which successful kings from time to time started, is clearly indicative of the fact that conquest was one of the most important methods resorted to. In Kautilya's *Arthashastra*¹⁵ acquisition of territory by conquest is regarded as very desirable, and later kings, such as Asoka, Samudragupta and Harsha, were all of them great conquerors. *Cession* and *purchase* as methods of acquiring new territory were not common. In Kautilya's work¹⁶ we find examples of these two methods employed as conditions of treaties which concluded the wars among the states in his time. An instance of gift of territory by one state to another is offered in the Ancient History of Magadha.¹⁷ Bimbisāra, the king of Magadha, got some villages in Kāśī as gift from the king of Kōśala. This gift, we are told, was revoked after Bimbisāra's death and his son Ajātasatru had to wage war with the king of Kosala for the recovery of the lands once secured as gift and reconquered them. The cession of Ariana by Seleucus Nikator to Chandra-

gupta is another case in point.¹⁸ An early instance of the idea of gift being a method of acquisition of new territory is probably to be found in the *Mahabharata* where the Pandavas ask for gift of a piece of territory from the Kauravas who had conquered a large extent of land. A state in Ancient India in exercising its powers over the territory belonging to it, as has already been seen,¹⁹ treated the latter as

- i. Protectorates or spheres of influence.
- ii. Dependencies or vassals.

OBLIGATIONS OF A STATE CONNECTED WITH INDEPENDENCE, JURISDICTION AND PROPERTY.

But there were various obligations which the head of a state had to fulfil if he was to enjoy the rights above mentioned. There were various *limitations* on the power of the sovereign both *internal* and *external*. The *Mahabharata* for instance lays down what follows regarding these: "I shall always have in mind the welfare of the state, I shall always abide by the law and the rules of ethics and politics prescribed by the sages. I shall not be independent."²⁰ The *Sukraniti*²¹ mentions the protection of subjects as a primary function of the king. There were also the popular institutions and the councils of ministers which the kings consulted and which proved to be a check on the absolute power of the sovereign.

As regards the *external obligations*:

First, there were the assemblies of kings of different grades of wealth and power who met to decide questions of common policy in war and peace. An instance of these royal assemblies is in evidence in the *Mahabharata* where before the actual outbreak of the hostilities between Virata and the Kauravas an assembly of kings met for deliberation about the conduct of the war. The kings who sat in council were expected to follow the general rules of courtesy and etiquette. They were to take their places in the order of their rank and affluence and great importance was

¹⁴ See Turnour: *Mahāvamsa*, chs. 6-8.

See also plates to face p. 44 and 46 in Rādha Kumud Mookerjee's *History of Indian Shipping* and maritime activity from the earliest times.

For discussions on whether the reliefs of Borobudur represent the ships setting out to Java, see *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 1917 and *Modern Review*, Jan. and Feb. 1918.

¹⁵ *Arthasāstra* Bk. VII, ch. X. and XII.

¹⁶ *Ibid.* VII, 3.

¹⁷ *Indian Antiquary*, Feb. 1916: Citing *Vaddhaki Sūkara Jātaka*.

¹⁸ *Early History of India*: V. A. Smith, chap. V. app. f. pp. 149 ff.

¹⁹ *Modern Review* 1918. See chapter on 'Features, divisions and subjects.'

²⁰ See *Mahābhārata, Santi Parva: Rājadharmā*, Sect 59. V. See also Sect 58. V. 1. "Protection of the subject is the very cheese of kingly duties."

²¹ *Sukraniti*, Chap. I. l. 27-28.

attached to the observance of ceremony and decorum.²²

Secondly, a king was bound to observe the terms of the alliance or the treaties that he may have entered into with other kings. Such alliances among kings were common, even from the time of the Rig Veda and appear more frequent as we proceed. In later times²³ alliances are in evidence not only between states of equal power and resources but also between states of unequal power and extent of territory in which the more powerful of the parties had some advantages over the less powerful states of the alliance. Especially, the smaller of the states in an alliance could infringe the rules and duties by which it was bound up only at great risk. We do not meet with any rules as to the penalty to which a state which violated the terms of the alliance was subjected. In most cases non-fulfilment of the terms of the alliance implied not only the odium of the other states but war on it by the other states and the possible extinction of the particular state which refused to be bound by the terms of the alliance.²⁴

Thirdly, there was the obligation that was more or less self-imposed by all kings—specially Kshatriya kings of ancient India,—the duty of fighting for redeeming the cause of righteousness or to keep up the balance of power among states.²⁵ The Pandavas declared war against Jarasandha, king of Magadha, when he had with his devouring ambition subjugated all kings of the north and was to crown himself as emperor.²⁶ This war may in the language of modern international law be interpreted to have been waged to keep up the 'balance of power' among the states in north India. The intervention of Kama²⁷ in the quarrel between Vāli and Sugrīva was with a view

to uphold the cause of righteousness—of Sugrīva against his wicked and powerful brother. That fighting to redeem the cause of right was enjoined as a duty on all Kshatriya kings is clearly in evidence in the Bhagavat-Gīta,²⁸ where the Lord Śrī Krishna makes a harangue to Arjuna on the duty of all Kshatriyas to fight for the right cause, irrespective of the fact that it might lead to the destruction of one's own race. This, on the ground that the Kauravas were cruel and had not been in their dealings following the path of Dharma.

Fourthly, there were limitations on the jurisdiction of a king over the property and persons found within the state limits. Religion was a great force in the moulding of society and politics in ancient India; and the protection of all religious institutions from ravages was certainly a primary duty to be observed by all rightful sovereigns. It was the duty of every sovereign to give a prominent place to religion in politics. The subjects of every state were allowed to have the right over their property, the kings being guided here by the eternal rules of *Dharma*. Unnecessary interference with and seizure of the rights of private individuals over their property was certainly attended by the wrath of the Almighty. In the *Aitariya Brāhmaṇa*²⁹ we find, a king is made to take the oath thus: "Whatever good I may have done, my position, my life and my progeny be taken from me if I oppress you." A king who seizes the property of his subjects would certainly not be performing the duties of a king as enjoined in the *Mahā-bhārata*.³⁰ The head of a state was bound by his position to protect the person as well as the property of his subjects. Even as early as the age of the Rig Veda where the king is styled *Gopati Janasya*³¹ this right of the subject for protection at the hands of the ruler was recognised.

Lastly, there were likewise limitations on the jurisdiction of the head of a state over certain kinds of persons passing through its territory. Among these we find three classes:—

(a) Emigrants from foreign lands.

(b) Ambassadors accredited to the particular country from another.

22 See *Infra*. Vide the *Sukraniti* for order of precedence in the council hall, chap. I. vv. 709-727.

23 E. g. *Harsa Charita*, ch. VII.

24 Among European nations we find the only method by which a nation that had infringed the ordinary rules of international conduct could be punished in the last instance was only by the declaration of war on it by others.

25 The head of every state was certainly bound to protect his country from the unnecessary intervention of other powers at least on the principle of 'self-preservation.'

26 *M. Bh. Sabhā Parva*, Sec. XV.

27 *Ramayana: Kishkindhā Kāṇḍa*: Sarga 16 and 17.

28 E. g. chapter 2.

29 *Ait. Br. VIII*, 4. 1. 13.

30 *M. Bh. Sānti, Rājdharmā*: Sec. 68, sl. 16-22.

31 *R. V. III*, 43. 5.

(c) The foreign sovereigns and their suite travelling within the limits of the state's territory.

(a) Megasthenes³² bears testimony to the kind treatment that was given by the government of Chandragupta to the foreigners that had migrated into Magadha. We find that of the various departments of his administration one was allotted to the treatment of foreigners. "Those of the second department attend to the entertainment of foreigners. To these they assign lodgings and they keep watch over their modes of life by means of those persons whom they give to them for assistants. They escort them on the way when they leave the country, or in the event of their dying forward their property to their relatives. They take care of them when they are sick, and if they die bury them." We have no means of knowing if the condition of affairs as depicted in Megasthenes prevailed to any extent before Chandragupta's rule. The institution of a special department of the administrative machinery for looking after the foreigners must have been the result of a practice that may have been long in vogue. Probably an earlier illustration—though it may be a stray one—of the kind treatment given to foreigners may be seen in the case of the Pāṇḍava brothers at the country of Viratā in their period of exile. They were received by the king with the characteristic instinct for kindness of the Orient.

(b) There is good record in all the literature of ancient India as to the various duties and immunities of diplomatic ministers. The person of an ambassador was inviolable and sacred, he being the mouthpiece of the sovereign.³³ Whatever may be the mission on which he was sent an ambassador could not be put to death even if he was guilty of serious crimes.³⁴ The supreme courtesy with which kings in ancient India treated the ambassadors from foreign kings is clearly indicative of the great privileges that the ambassadors accredited to foreign courts were allowed to enjoy. A detailed treatment of the subject will follow.

(c) After the above accounts as re-

gards the treatment of foreigners and the ambassadors that represented the kings in foreign states it were needless to dwell on the treatment given to foreign sovereigns and their suite travelling in another country by a king of the latter country.

There were certain other obligations which are in evidence in the age of the Mauryas in opposition to the rights which the state enjoyed over the ships in its ports. "Whenever any weather-beaten ship arrived at the port, the customs officer was to protect her like her father. He was to exempt from toll or accept half the usual rates from ships that had been troubled in the waters. He was to allow them to sail away from his ports when the season for setting sail approached."³⁵

RIGHTS AND OBLIGATIONS CONNECTED WITH EQUALITY.

In the evolution of the concept of the 'nation'³⁶ in ancient India it has been already noted how in the Vedic period the state was tribal; in the Epic, territorial; in the Buddhist, political. We also saw how the Maurya period heralded the growth of the imperial states in India. In each of these four stages there were certain units of political organisation which were decidedly superior to the rest. In the Vedas, of the Pancha jana, the Tritsus under their leader Sudas were apparently the most prominent of the tribes that dwelt in the region of the Sapta Sindhavah. In the Epics, some kingdoms are seen to stand out prominently from among the rest. These were the Kurus, Panchalas, Videhas, Kosalas and Kasis. In the Buddhist age, of the sixteen *Mahājanapada*h, certainly not all of them were of the same greatness and power. In the imperial Maurya period the kingdom of Magadha stood out dominant stretching its arms, as we read of Asoka's empire, on the northwest to the Hindukush mountains, on the east over the whole of Bengal as far as the mouths of the Ganges where Tamralipti was the principal port,

35 सुटवाताहतां तां पिनेव अनुगृहीयात् ।

उदकप्राप्तं पण्यमशुल्कं अर्द्धशुल्कं वा कुर्यात्

तथा निर्दिष्टाश्चैताः पण्यपत्तनयात्राकालेषु प्रेषयेत्

See R. Mookerji's 'Indian Shipping' part II, ch. II.

36 See the Introductory article on Sources etc. *Modern Review* 1918.

32 Mc. Crindle: *Megasthenes and Arrian*, quoted in Dutt's 'Civilisation in Ancient India,' vol. I, p. 223.

33 & 34 *Ramayana* : Sund., Kand : Sarga 52, sl. 19 and *Yuddha Kand* : Sarga 25.

and on the south approximately as far as a line drawn from the mouth of the Pennar river through Cudappah and to the south of Chitaldrug to the river Kalyānpura on the west coast.³⁷ This implies the reduction of states which might have been once independent to the position of dependencies or vassals under the imperial jurisdiction. From the account given above it is clear that not only were the states in ancient India unequal in extent and greatness in the various ages of the early history of India, but also that the states in a particular epoch were not equal to one another. Some certainly dominated over the others.

Corresponding in a way to the development of the 'nation' in India we meet with various grades of kingship ranged according to their power and affluence. Great importance was attached in assemblies of kings to the dignity and decorum to be observed in the treatment given to kings. It was to be adequate to the particular grade to which a king belonged. In the Vedic hymns³⁸ we meet with terms to denote three grades of kingship—*Samrāt*, *Adhirāt* and *Ekarāt*. In the Brahmanas and the Epics³⁹ we have in addition to the above, *Svarāt* and *Virāt*. The *Aitareya Brahmana*⁴⁰ gives the following list of gradations: *Rājya*, *Simrājya*, *Svarājya*, *Vairājya*, *Maharājya* and *Adhipatya*. In Kautilya's work we meet with some other name, e.g., *Chakravarti*. The *Sukraniti* has the following:—*Sāmanta*, *Māndalika*, *Rāja*, *Mahārāja*, *Samrāt*, *Virāt*, and *Sārvabhauma*.

In the *Sukraniti*⁴¹ we find the standard

37 *Early History of India*: V. A. Smith, pp. 161-163.

38 *R. V.* IV. 21. 1; IV. 37. 3; VIII. 19. 32; X. 128. 9.

A. V. IV. 10. 24.

39 *Satapatha Brahmana* XI. 3. 2. 1. 6. Taittiriya Aranyaka I, 31. 6.

40 *Ait. Br.* VIII. 4. 1.

41 *Sukraniti*: chap 1. sl. 183-187.

सामन्तस्य नृपः प्रोक्तो यानहचक्षयावधि
तद् दृष्टं दशसहस्रान्तो नृपो माण्डलिकस्य नृपः
तद् दृष्टं तु भवेद्राजा यावद् दशतिहस्रकः
पञ्चासहस्रपर्यन्तो महाराजप्रकौर्तितः
ततश्च कोटिपर्यन्तस्य राष्ट्रं संराट् ततः परं
दशकोटिपर्यन्तो यावत् विराट् तु तदनन्तरं
पञ्चसहस्रोपर्यन्तः सार्वभौमस्यतः परं etc.

by which the greatness of the grades of kings above mentioned was measured. That ruler who realised an annual revenue of between one and three lakhs of *Karshas* without oppressing his subjects was a *Sāmanta*. One whose annual revenue exceeded 3 lakhs up to 10 lakhs was a *Māndalika*. One whose revenue ranged between 10 and 20 lakhs was a *Rāja*. One whose income came to 50 lakhs was a *Mahārāja*. If the revenue ranged between 50 lakhs and 1 crore he was a *Svarāt*. He was a *Samrāt* who realised between 1 and 10 crores of *Karshas*. The ruler whose revenue came to between 10 and 50 crores was a *Virāt*. The *Sārvabhauma* was superior to a *Virāt*. This list is by no means exhaustive⁴² nor could it be taken to be an accurate estimate of the proportionate magnitude of the kings of ancient India. In many cases one term was used indiscriminately for another, and all these forms were generally covered by the generic term for kingship *Rāja*. Still, this may be taken to be a rough estimate by which a king was entitled to a particular grade at least during the age of the *Sukraniti*.

The order of seniority among these kings must have been observed in the assemblies of kings that had met for deliberations or on occasions of sacrifices which was very often performed by kings. There were, it would appear, differences between kings as regards the respective places of honour to be allotted to each. An instance may be found in the priority given to Krishna over Sisupāla on the occasion of the *Rājasuya* sacrifice performed by Yudhishtira.⁴³ The kind of sacrifice which a king was able to perform was taken to be indicative of the title which he deserved. 'By performing the *Rājasuya* one became *Rāja* and by the *Vājapeya*, *Samrat* and the latter was

42 In inscriptions and coins we meet with some other designations.

E.g. In the Kharoshti inscription of Kadphises II, we have *Mahārāja*; *Sivālakura* is styled a *Rāno*; *Samudragupta* and *Chandragupta II* appear in inscriptions as *Mahārājādhirāja*; *Rājādhirāja* and *Rajarāja* are familiar in connection with the names of Chōla kings. The titles *Kshatrapa* and *Mahākshatrapa* appear in connection with Saka kings.

See the list of coins attached to Mr. Smith's *Early History of India*.

43 *Mahābhārata*: *Sabhā Parva*.

superior to the former.'⁴⁴ 'He who had performed a horse-sacrifice was a *Sārva-bhauma*.'⁴⁵ Some other distinguishing marks of the more powerful of the kings in India were *Digvijaya* *Punarabhisheka* and *Aindra Mahābhisheka*. *Digvijaya* or conquest of the quarters could only be started on by a *Chakravarti* or *Sārbabhauma* 'whose empire extended far up to natural boundaries, whose territory extended over

44 *Satapatha Brahmana* IX. 3. 4. 8.

राजा वै राजसूयेनेष्टा भवति । संराट् वाजपेयेन ।

इतरं हि राजां परं साम्राजं कामयेत वै राजा संराट्

भवितुमवरे हि राजां परं साम्राजं

45 *Apastamba Śrauta Sūtra* XX. 1. 1.

राजा सार्वभौमो अश्वमेधेन यजेत

a wide area uninterrupted to the very ends, and formed one state and administration in the lands up to the seas.'⁴⁶ The *Punarabhisheka* and *Aindra Mahābhisheka* were higher forms of ceremony by which only the most mighty monarchs of old were consecrated.

The kings were naturally jealous of each other's rise to power and greatness and did not tolerate one that was an upstart and did deeds or performed sacrifices not in keeping with his title.⁴⁷ The performance of sacrifices, ceremonies or deeds of valour was a criterion by which it was decided to which grade a king was to belong.

46 *Ait. Br.* VIII. 4. 1.

47 *Sat. Br.* XIII. 1. 6. 3.

THE BENGAL VILLAGE SELF-GOVERNMENT BILL : A CRITICISM

By PRAMATHA NATH BOSE.

THE Bengal Village Self-Government Bill is, on the whole, disappointing, though I must say it is an advance upon previous measures for local Self-Government. The disappointment is proportionate to the expectation raised by the commendatory speeches of His Excellency the Governor and Sir S. P. Sinha.

It is undoubtedly necessary that Government should exercise a certain amount of control over the village committees. But self-government to be successful must be real, and the control should be so exercised that the committees may feel it as little as possible, and so that their sense of responsibility may not be impaired. Too much supervision, too many rules and regulations, and too rigid observance of these would deprive them of the amount of freedom, initiative, prestige and responsibility which is essential for the success of the measure.

The *Dafadars* and *Chaukidars* will be the most important, if not the only servants of the village. They are, of course, to be controlled by the village

committee, and are enjoined to obey its orders in regard to keeping watch in the village, and in regard to other matters connected with their duties (clauses 22 and 26 ix). These duties, however, are prescribed (clause 26) in such a manner that they could be performed independently, without any reference whatever to the committee. Their allegiance would apparently be divided between three masters—the nearest police officer, the circle officer (representing the District Magistrate), and the village committee. And as their appointment, punishment, and dismissal, and the determination of their pay and equipment would rest with the officials (clauses 23, 24 and 25), it is not difficult to predict whom they would try to please and who would really control them. The "self-government" of the village committee would thus become a high-sounding, solemn sham. No capable, self-respecting man would desire the position of a "master" who has but nominal authority over his servants.

Maximum of authority and minimum of control should be the fundamental

principle of genuine local self-government. The village committee, however, has, as we have just seen, been entrusted with the minimum of authority and has, as we shall presently see, burdened with the maximum of control, and control too of a most undesirable character. The control is vested partly in the circle boards and partly in the District Magistrate. In both cases it would practically be in the hands of the circle officers, who are, I believe, usually, if not invariably, young Sub-Deputy Magistrates. This conclusion is confirmed by Sir Satyendra Prasanna's statement "that it is intended that the new system should be introduced gradually in districts where the circle system has been introduced, and circle officers are available to assist the village committee." The "assistance" would virtually mean control. Man, as ordinarily constituted, is fond of the exercise of power; and the younger and more energetic he is, the more marked is this fondness. Actuated by it, if not, in some cases, by any baser motive, the Sub-Deputies and possibly also the Sub-Inspectors of the nearest police stations, to whom also the Chaukidars and Dafadars would be partly subordinate, would, I have but little doubt, often needlessly meddle with the work of the village committees and hamper it. In fact the "assistance" would, I am afraid, be often rendered in such a manner as to make the village committee the lowest and the most subservient link of the official chain, and "self-government" a farce. An exceptionally broad-minded, sympathetic, energetic and experienced district magistrate would no doubt keep his subordinates in check. But such officers are rare. Besides, under the present system of administration, the man is generally swallowed up in the machine, and even the best of district officers would not have much scope for freedom and initiative. For, cut and dry rules would be framed by Government "regulating the powers and duties of village committees in regard to sanitation, conservancy, drainages, buildings, roads, bridges and water-supply," and "in regard to schools and dispensaries" &c. (clause 111, 2i) and the function of the district officers would be to see that the rules are observed—a function which would be usually performed by their subordinates the Sub-Deputies.

How, then, are the village committees

to be controlled? I would suggest the appointment of a special officer as the sole controlling authority. He should be a man in whom the people would have confidence, and who may be expected to treat them with sympathy and consideration. An experienced officer of the type of the Hon. Mr. Cumming or the Hon. Mr. Monahan would, I think, do very well. Let the area over which village committees are established be, to begin with, not larger than what he could manage with the help of an assistant (who should be an experienced elderly Deputy Magistrate of proved ability and not a young Sub-Deputy), and let the committees that are established be invested with authority of a much less shadowy and much more substantial character than what the Bill under discussion proposes to confer on them.

Government should refrain from making any rigid rules about sanitation, conservancy, drainage, &c. The special officer, I have suggested, may advise the village committees on these matters, and may frame any rules that should be necessary. Government interference would only add to the financial burden of the people without any adequate result. For instance, sometime ago Health Officers were imposed upon some Municipalities by Government. The Municipality of the town I am living in was one of them. I asked the Vice-Chairman what was this new functionary to do? He did not know, but as Government wanted the Municipality to entertain a health officer, they were obliged to have him. The town is no healthier now than ten years ago; if anything, it is less healthy. If half the money which is spent upon the health officer were devoted to the menial establishment for conservancy, the town would, I think, be healthier.

The fundamental mistake which the Government, and Sir S. P. Sinha as a member of the Government, make is in assuming that our people are in the savage or semi-savage state and must be "civilized" in the modern, that is Western, sense. Says Sir Satyendra Prasanna, speaking about the need for rural sanitation:—

"If Bengal is to become 'civilised' in the modern sense, if the ordinary amenities of life are to be available to all—I will go further, if the evils which menace health and life itself, are to be overcome—we must

by some means or other surmount the financial difficulties which have always hemmed us in. On the need of rural sanitation I need say little. The Imperial Gazetteer of India (Vol. IV, p. 468) does not exaggerate when it describes the general sanitary condition of Indian villages in the following words:—

'The village home is still often ill-ventilated and overpopulated, the village site dirty, crowded with cattle, choked with rank vegetation, and poisoned by stagnant pools; and the village tanks polluted and used indiscriminately for bathing, cooking and drinking.'

From the opening sentence of the above extract, it would seem as if Sir Satyendra Prasanna thought that the availability of the "amenities of life" and the overcoming of "the evils which menace health and life" depended upon Bengal being "civilized" in the modern sense, or in one word, being Westernised. Anyhow, he apparently assumes such civilization to be one of the objects we should aim at. A man who had taken to drinking gave it up. Asked by a friend why he did so he said he had various reasons, and being requested to state them he said one reason was he had not the means. The friend on hearing that said, that was enough, he need not trouble to state the rest. When Sir Satyendra Prasanna said "if Bengal is to become civilized in the modern sense," he apparently forgot that she has already had a good dose of that civilization during the last two or three generations. And I know not a few who have had to discontinue it. There are various reasons for the step—which men like Sir Satyendra Prasanna will probably consider a retrograde one. But the reason given by the gentleman who had taken to the bottle—possibly under the influence of modern "civilization"—that is, want of means, clinches the matter. Unfortunately, there are a great many who are not deterred by this obstacle, and the consequence for them is highly pernicious, if not positively ruinous.

Whether our people are, on the whole, being impoverished or not, is a question too large to be discussed here. While I am convinced that they are, I freely admit that there is room for honest difference of opinion on the subject. But I think there should be no such difference in regard to a kind of impoverishment of a considerable section of our community who have become more or less "civilized" in the modern sense.

Impoverishment is a comparative term. If one having comparatively more money

than before, yet has less for his wants, he is certainly poorer. That barring an insignificant fraction of our people composed of some zamindars, lawyers, bankers, highplaced officials, &c., the mass of our middle class (including the well-to-do peasantry *) have been impoverished in this sense there cannot be the shadow of a doubt; and that modern "civilisation" is mainly responsible for this impoverishment, there can also be no doubt. They generally have more money than before, but their wants due to various "civilizing" agencies and in respect of apparel and an infinity of other things in conformity with the ideas of decency, aesthetics, &c., of modern 'civilization', have increased in a much larger proportion. And as the ordinary man blindly follows the prevailing fashion, and as with him show counts for more than substance, and the ornamental supersedes the useful, the necessary consequence is impoverishment with all its *sequelae*—inordinate enhancement of the struggle for animal existence, worry, anxiety, diminution of vitality, and possibly also resort to shady and crooked alleys and byways of making money and general moral degeneration. Even incomes which formerly would have been regarded as opulence are now hardly deemed to be bare competence. With the great majority of our middle class, upper as well as lower, the candle burns at both ends. Their resources are exhausted, on the one hand, by the excessive rise in the prices of necessaries, and, on the other, by the increasing complexity of "civilized" living which is enlarging their wants. While milk and the various preparations of milk which form the principal articles of nutrition in our diet suited to the climate have become so very dear that they cannot afford to get them in sufficient quantity for bare subsistence, they have to spend comparatively large amounts upon the gratification of the new tastes which have

* Even in regard to Eastern Bengal, one of the few parts of India where the peasantry is prosperous, the Honourable Mr. J. G. Cumming, one of the ablest and most sympathetic officers of the Government of Bengal, observes in his report on the Survey and Settlement of the Chak-Rosanabad Estate (Comilla District):

"Intelligent native public opinion is, and I agree with it, that the standard of comfort has increased, but that the income of the raiyats has not increased in exact correspondence; or, in other words, that the raiyat in spite of increased income has a smaller margin of profit and saving than he formerly had."

sprung up for clothing, shoes, socks after the Western fashion and for Western games, amusements, furniture, toys, trinkets, glassware, cigarettes, patent medicines, &c., &c.

It appears to me passing strange that Government and a large number of my Neo-Indian compatriots should be blind to a fact which ought to be apparent *a priori* and which is incontrovertibly established by the experience of the last half century. It does not require any unusual strain on the reasoning faculty to find out that the adoption of a "civilization" evolved in the wealthiest communities of the globe by one of its poorest communities would be economically disastrous—a "civilization", besides, which aims at enriching the former by the exploitation of the latter. And experience confirms what is established by reason. That the vitality of our people has been decreasing is a fact which has been noticed by many, including Government and some of their experienced officials.

The Government of Bengal in their Resolution on the final Report on the recent Famine in Bankura observe :

"The severity of the distress in the recent famine, resulting from the failure of one monsoon, raises the question of the present economic condition of the districts. Relief became necessary in August 1915, and by the time of the harvest of the winter rice crop 1 per cent. of the population was in receipt of relief, while in May 1916, the percentage on relief of one kind or another rose to 4.2; in previous famines relief has not been found necessary until a later stage."

"The increasing number of famines and the terrible mortality which results from them," says Sir H. J. S. Cotton, in spite of all the exertions of the Government and the heroic effort of individual officers, are—if there were no other evidence—an overwhelming demonstration that the capacity of the people to maintain themselves is on the decline..... The reason why famines are more frequent than formerly, and more severe, is that the resources of the people are less able to resist them."

I do not think it is necessary for me to labour the points, that the diminution of vitality, or of "the capacity of the people to maintain themselves" is chiefly attributable to impoverishment, and that modern "civilization" is one of the main causes of this impoverishment.

I do not know what Sir S. P. Sinha means exactly by "the amenities of life" being "available to all." Amenities of life according to the indigenous social standard were two or three generations ago available to all to a much larger extent

than they are now. I quite remember the time when there was a great deal more of amity among the Hindus and the Mahomedans, and among the "higher" and "lower" castes of the Hindus, when there was a well-recognised place for them all in social and religious festivities, when such amusements and entertainments as *Jatras*, *Kathakata*, &c., at the houses of the well-to-do were open to all. I suppose Sir Satyendra Prasanna means the "amenities" of modern "civilization," such as theatres, circuses, cinemas, &c. Whether they are superior or inferior to the amenities of Indian civilization is a question upon which opinion will be divided. But there can be no possible doubt about the serious inroads which they make into the slender incomes of the great majority of our people. If they were to be made more "available to all" than they are now, they would, I am sure, deepen the impoverishment which, as we have seen above, is being affected by the other "civilizing" agencies and institutions.

The description of the sanitary condition of Indian villages quoted from the Imperial Gazetteer of India is highly exaggerated. In fact it does not at all apply to the great majority of Indian villages, for they get their supply of drinking water from streams and wells. I have noticed in various parts of India that where the villagers get their drinking water from streams, their women-folk scoop out shallow pools in the sands and carefully ladle out the filtered water therefrom. Our people are not so ignorant of hygienic rules as they are taken to be by our Western and Westernised friends. In regard to personal cleanliness and the cleanliness of their homes, they are in some respects—as, for instance, the cleanliness of their teeth, an important factor of health—superior to the Westerners and Westernised Indians.

I doubt if the description of the Imperial Gazetteer would generally hold true even in regard to Bengal where the people to a large extent procure their drinking water from tanks. The residents of the Bengal village where my ancestral residence lies, and of the neighbouring villages, usually get their drinking water from the stream which flows past. Nevertheless, I have no doubt, the description would be at least partially true for Bengal of the present day. But the fact is lost sight of

that it would have been less true forty or fifty years ago. And, paradoxical as the statement may appear, this is because of the rapid advance along the path of Western civilization which Bengal has been making within that time. Why are so many Bengal villages "choked with rank vegetation and poisoned by stagnant pools" at the present day? It is because the exigencies or amenities of modern civilization have driven the great majority of their well-to-do inhabitants, who used to take care of their gardens and tanks, to towns, and because the few comparatively well-to-do men that are left have, also under the influence of modern civilization, either lost the benevolent spirit which animated their ancestors and which made them devote their spare money after supplying their simple wants to works of public utility, or have become too impoverished, in the sense we have explained above, to be in a position to undertake them.

Sir S. P. Sinha talks of "the evils which menace health and life." Are they not much more serious now than they were four or five decades ago? Have they not been increasing in volume and intensity as "civilization" with its network of railways, law courts, schools and colleges, &c., has been spreading? Why should malaria be rampant in the dry climate of Northern India free from rank vegetation and pestiferous pools as well as in damp Bengal overgrown with jungle and "poisoned by stagnant pools"? Why should places noted for their salubrity half a century ago have now become as noted for their insalubrity and become hot-beds of disease?

I am strongly inclined to think, that the increase in the number and virulence of diseases is mainly attributable to the decreasing vitality of our people. And we have already indicated, that this diminu-

tion of vitality is mainly due to impoverishment, and that the spread of modern "civilization" is one of the main causes of this impoverishment.

Government proposes to overcome "the evils which menace health and life" and which have been gradually growing in enormity and intensity by the expansion of the Sanitary Department so that the Sanitary Commissioner may have "a large executive agency" to see that the "model rules of village hygiene" framed by Government are carried into practice. And the money required for "the sanitation, conservancy, drainage and water-supply of the village, for the establishment, repair, maintenance or management of primary schools and dispensaries, for any other local works likely to promote the health, comfort, and convenience of the public," as well as "for the salaries and equipment of the Dafadars and Chaukidars, and the salary of the Secretary (if any)" is to be raised by taxing the villagers (clause 38).

It is not difficult to predict, that in the great majority of cases, at least in Central Bengal, this method of financing the Village Committees would be productive of great hardship, would, in fact, lead to increased impoverishment and consequent further decrease of vitality and aggravation of the "evils which menace health and life." I would suggest that at least a moiety of the Public Works cess be made over by the District Boards to the Village Committees, and that a suitable grant be made from the Provincial revenue to the Boards to make up the financial deficiency which they would thus suffer.

I am afraid, if the bill be passed as it stands, it will, instead of removing the evils which our people suffer from now, aggravate them, and instead of adding to their happiness, will add to their misery.

INDIAN PERIODICALS

Poetic Vision.

In the course of an illuminating article contributed to *Arya* for April, Aurobinda

Ghose sets forth the aim and form of all true poetry and demolishes the idea that the main role of poets should be the role of teachers and preachers. Says he :

Vision is the characteristic power of the poet, as is discriminative thought the essential gift of the philosopher and analytic observation the natural genius of the scientist. The Kavi or poet was in the idea of the ancient the seer and revealer of truth, and though we have wandered far enough from that ideal to demand from him only the pleasure of the ear and the amusement of the aesthetic faculty, still all great poetry preserves something of that higher truth of its own aim and significance. Poetry, in fact, being Art, must attempt to make us see, and since it is to the inner senses that it has to address itself,—for the ear is its only physical gate of entry and even there its real appeal is to an inner hearing,—and since its object is to make us live within ourselves what the poet has embodied in his verse, it is an inner sight which he opens in us, and this inner sight must have been intense in him before he can awaken it in us.

Therefore the greatest poets have been always those who have had a large and powerful interpretative and intuitive vision of Nature and life and man and whose poetry has arisen out of that in a supreme revelatory utterance of it. Sight is the essential poetic gift. The archetypal poet in a world of original ideas is, we may say, a Soul that sees in itself intimately this world and all the others and God and Nature and the life of beings and sets flowing from its centre a surge of creative rhythm and word-images which become the expressive body of the vision; and the great poets are those who repeat in some measure this ideal creation.

The tendency of the modern mind at the present day seems to be towards laying a predominant value on the thought in poetry.

We are asking of the poet to be, not a supreme singer or an inspired seer of the worlds, but a philosopher, a prophet, a teacher, even something perhaps of a religious or ethical preacher. It is necessary therefore to say that when I claim for the poet the role of a seer of Truth and find the source of great poetry in a great and revealing vision of life or God or the gods or man or nature, I do not mean that it is necessary for him to have an intellectual philosophy of life or a message for humanity, which he chooses to express in verse because he has metrical gift and the gift of imagery, or a solution of the problems of the age or a mission to improve mankind, or, as it is said, "to leave the world better than he found it." As a man, he may have these things, but the less he allows them to get the better of his poetical gift, the happier it will be for his poetry. Material for his poetry they may give, an influence in it they may be, provided they are transmuted into vision and life by the poetical spirit, but they can be neither its soul nor its aim, nor give the law to its creative activity and its expression.

The native power of poetry is in its sight, not in its intellectual thought-matter, and its safety is in adhering to this native principle of vision and allowing its conception, its thought, its emotion, its presentation, its structure to rise out of that or compelling it to rise into that before it takes its finished form. The poetic vision of life is not a critical or intellectual or philosophic view of it, but a soul-view, a seizing by the inner sense; and the mantra is not in its substance or form poetic enunciation of a philosophic truth, but the rhythmic revelation or intuition arising out of the soul's sight of God and Nature and the world and the inner truth—occult to the outward eye—of all that peoples it, the secrets of their life and being.

Realistic art does not and cannot give us a scientifically accurate presentation of life, because Art is not and cannot be Science. What it does do, is to make an arbitrary selection of motives, forms and hues, sometimes of dull blacks and greys and browns and dingy whites and sordid yellows, sometimes of violent blacks and reds, and the result is sometimes a thing of power and sometimes a nightmare. Idealistic art makes a different selection and produces either a work of power or beauty or else a false and distorted day-dream. In these distinctions there is no safety; nor can any rule be laid down for the poet, since he must necessarily go by what he is and what he sees, except that he should work from the living poetic centre within him and not exile himself into artificial standpoints.

It is not sufficient for poetry to attain high intensities of word and rhythm; it must have, to fill them, an answering intensity of vision. And this does not depend only on the individual power of vision of the poet, but on the mind of his age and country, its symbols, the depth of its spiritual attainment.

Bidi-Making and Disease.

C. S. Deole writing in the *Social Service Quarterly* for April points out how and in what measure the Bidi-makers of Bombay help the spread of tuberculosis. Says he:

The law requires that the storage of tobacco shall be at the shop or premises specified, and, therefore, it follows that bidis also should be manufactured at the place of storage. The license-holders cannot afford to have, in a costly city like Bombay, a shop at one place and spacious godown at another. Their shop, godown, place of bidi manufacturing, all are the same little room situated in a prominent corner and hired at an exorbitant rent. The manufacture of bidis in these tiny holes is not carried on by lifeless iron or wooden machines, but by men and women, mostly the latter. They flock together in these small holes, quite dark, and ill-ventilated. They leave their homes and their children at about 10 or 11 in the morning, and come all the way to the shop and sit there till evening huddled together, like sardines, in a small room or on a scaffold-like loft, specially created in a cellar in that room, ceaselessly plying their fingers at bidi-making. The inevitable result of working under the conditions, men and women sitting together closely packed, almost rubbing their bodies against one other, smoking, chewing pans, drinking tea, taking their afternoon meals, sometimes blowing their noses or spitting, every day for seven or eight hours—the inevitable result of all this can better be imagined than described. Taking men and women as they are, subject to all the frailties of human nature, they slip down the moral precipice, and the inexorable laws of physical nature have their retribution. The insanitary condition under which they work, day in and day out, give rise to diseases like tuberculosis. Some of the women bring their infants with them and those are suckled and nursed in this horrid atmosphere. Thus the disease spreads from generation to generation.

The recent report of the Anti-Tuberculosis League considerably strengthens this view. The report gives instances of grievous results arising from bidi-making carried on in dark rooms by men and women huddled together.

From what we have seen of the Bidimakers of Calcutta their condition seems to be better. The health officer of Calcutta should hold an early investigation regarding the condition of health of the Bidimakers of this city, on the same lines as they did in Bombay.

How to Get on : the Best Methods.

Some very sound advice has been given to aspirants to success in business by Thomas J. Barratt, Chairman and Managing Director, Pear's Soap Company, in the course of an article contributed to the *Mysore Economic Journal* for March. Says Mr. Barratt :

It is a mistake to think that good qualities alone will enable a man to prosper. Thoreau, long ago, dreamer though he was, saw through the insufficiency of this gospel of goodness as an equipment for success in a world of struggle and practicality. "Be not merely good," he said, "be good for something."

To "get on" one must have the power and aptitude for "tackling" things. And what a concentration of energising activities this gift of tackling things comprises! Determination, a properly balanced aggressiveness, quickness of perception and decision, and a general directness of speech and action which takes the shortest cut to its object; all these are more or less a necessity to the equipment of the man who wants to "get on," and, fortunately, most of the qualities, are not beyond cultivation.

Success, however, is a matter of degree and ambition. Only the few arrive at the mountain top—the men with special equipment—but there are plenty of midway pleasaunces of scope sufficient to satisfy the aspirations of the ordinary mind.

Health and brains, the two essentials, come by cultivation. Many a fragile frame has been safeguarded and tended to a condition of strength by good sense and care. Both body and mind have to be exercised into efficiency; or stagnation of the one and apathy in other will follow, and, as Shakespeare says, "Your dull ass will not mend his pace by beating."

Knowledge and experience are the feeders of the brain. All the school knowledge that can be obtained should be taken advantage of, but so much of our school knowledge is a matter of rule and rote, and insufficiently memorised, that it must be backed up and eked out by an unwearying effort to add to the stock from every proper source—especially by constant courses in the college of experience. By resolving to learn something new and useful every day, however, by cultivating an inquiring habit of mind, and by practising one's powers of observation until the faculty of seeing the practical side of things is developed, the equipment of knowledge soon grows to goodly proportions.

Success-abilities may be brought into some such classification as the following: Cap-ability, work-ability, respons-ibility, adapt-ability, and practic-ability. Of these only one need detain us, and that is work. The others explain themselves, and are partly dependent upon circumstances. Work-ability is the bravest item in a man's equipment for "getting

on" in business. Thinking, however, is the chief part of work, from nearly every standpoint. Even the hardest physical labour is eased when thought accompanies it.

Many are wanting in what I may call the "working conscience,"—that is, the natural, inborn stimulus for work. There are still men so little afraid of work that they even dare to go to sleep beside it, or at least allow themselves to lapse into a half-slumberous condition, when superintendence is not active and insistent. There are still youths who regard "shutting up shop," as the main thing to desire, and who believe that the true work-a-day motto is "Labour as little as possible and get as much as possible for it." But these are the people who stick in the ruts and do not "get on." There is another motto that is much better worth keeping in mind and that is "There is no fun like work." It is an axiom of an old friend of mine, the creator of an enterprise of world-wide repute, Sir Thomas Lipton. What he means is that to work well and take an interest in what you are doing makes the hours pass pleasantly and profitably; whereas to the come-day-go-day idler, who shirks and yawns and is for ever glancing at the clock and wishing the day was over, minutes seem like hours; he lives in an atmosphere of drag and lag, and should in the familiar phrase either 'get on or get out.'

Knowledge, without the power to use it, is of little avail; capability that does not shape itself for action has nothing to exercise itself upon; the will and the desire to make them operative must be there or little success will result. Still, whatever you do or omit doing, never forget the time-honoured virtues hallowed by a thousand inspiring memories. Sometimes they are voted old-fashioned, but all the same, they are of imperishable wear and a shining ornament to those who possess them. Truth, honesty, diligence, are qualities which should always be kept in the fore-ground of life's perspective; not imitations or dilutions of them, but the realities. It is not sufficient to be up to the half standard of the American farmer who on being asked how his son was getting on replied "Oh, John's a very good boy; he may lie a bit and he may thieve a bit; but when you've said that you've said all; John's a very good boy."

Thoroughness is the accentuating power in all the better human characteristics. Energy, courage, determination, industry, are strengthened by it, and such steady aids as orderliness, method and sincerity lend it their support. Thoroughness can be exercised in little as well as in great things; in the working out of the higher ambitions of life and in giving fulness and meaning to the humbler tasks of existence.

Method is a necessity to business "getting on." It is the outcome of orderly spirit operating through the ages and applying the lessons of experience to the economising of time and effort in any department of business action. Business manners are also an important matter. A man can be and ought to be polite and considerate, no matter how great his hurry. Even with panting motors waiting to bear one away, with telephone calls sounding incessantly around one, and the endless stir and hubbub of modern activities assailing at every point, the habit of courtesy should never be laid aside. Office manners are one thing, however, and workshop manners another; but the principle and the effect should be the same in both. "There is always time enough for courtesy," said Emerson. It requires

personality and character, however, to rise to the best on all business occasions; but with these to his equipment a man can go forward with a good heart, and he will not fail.

Business was never more orderly than now, never more honest, never better conducted, never so rich in opportunities for those who have business intelligence and the right capacity and conscience for work. True, our business pace has been wonderfully increased, our business methods have been greatly intensified, our business aims immensely multiplied, and our money-making propensities have in no wise slackened; but with all the flutter and fuss of steam, electricity, telegraphy, aviation, motoring, and the rest, the winning qualities in business are the same now as in the past.

Travancore Music.

A good deal of information about the music of Travancore has been supplied us in the course of a short article contributed to *Young Men of India* for May by T. Lakshmana Pillai. We read:

In Travancore two systems of music exist side by side, one the ancient Dravidian system, called also *Sopanam*, and the other the Aryan. The former represents the most ancient form of music prevalent in South India, characterised by sweetness, tenderness, and pathos, and the latter bold, elaborate, and majestic, which came with the Aryan wave of settlement about 2,000 years ago, and which to this day exists in greater purity here than in any other part of India. It is in this system that Tiagayya, the great composer of South India, has produced his famous lyrics. The Dravidian system, on the other hand, is used in temples, whence it gets the name of *Sopanam* (steps), and also in connection with *Kathakalis*, and popular games in Travancore and Malabar. It is here that the most ancient social and religious customs are still in vogue in their pristine purity, unaffected by external influences and unimpaired by political isolation of the country. The music of this region has long withstood the awful vicissitudes of time, and is as unchanged as its physical features, marked by "waving palms and land-locked lagoons." It is not meant that the Aryan and Dravidian systems of music have stood on through centuries like figures cut in alabaster, without exerting the least influence upon each other. No—in the nature of things, this could not be. Some of the long curves peculiar to the Dravidian system may have been borrowed or imitated in the Aryan, while, on the other hand, some of the other peculiarities of Aryan music, such as its way of classifying

ragas and its nomenclature, may have been adopted into the Dravidian system.

It is not easy to trace the name of any great composer in popular Dravidian music, the *ragas* employed in the Dravidian songs being simple and there being scope for multiplying compositions in the existing airs. These airs are all stereotyped. It is not meant that songs of higher quality cannot be composed in them. The experiment has never been tried, as it has become the fashion now to make new compositions in the Aryan *ragas*, which have become prevalent in towns and cities where Aryan music retains hold of the popular mind. Even in the Aryan system, the great composers have been those of comparatively recent date. We are aware of no composer prior to Tiagayya whose compositions can at all be compared to his. The Aryan music which was once prevalent in Travancore, and which still exists there though in a slightly modified form, is of the old style, called *Carnatic* (as opposed to *Desik*), and it is in this style that the celebrated royal composer, Swathi Tirumal Maha Raja, has composed his lyrics. One of the earliest composers in this style was Prince Aswathi Tirunal (1756-1788), an accomplished Sanskrit scholar, whose *Kirtanams* are even now daily sung at the Sri Padmanabhaswami Temple. The Ashtapathies composed by Jaya Deva, of Pandarpur, in Bombay, were also known to the musicians of Travancore, and they were the stock music of the celebrated musician of Travancore, Govinda Marar. The songs in Aryan music now sung in Travancore cannot be traced further back than the year 1750. With the opening of the 19th century, we have had a number of composers, such as Rani Rukmani Bai, His Highness Swathi Tirunal Maharaja, Ravi Varman Thampi, Nattuvan Ponniah, Ksheerapathi Sastrial, and others.

The greatest musician in Travancore of the early part of the 19th century was certainly Govinda Marar, of Muvathuppu.

The reign of Swathi Tirunal Maharaja (1820-1846) may be well named "the Augustan Age of Travancore Music," as a constellation of great musicians flourished at the time. The Maharaja himself was a musician and composer of no mean order. He was a linguist, and could compose in several languages, such as Malayalam, Sanskrit, Tamil, Telugu, Mahratti, and Gujrati. His compositions in the shape of *Varnams*, *Kirtanams*, *Padams*, *Tillanas*, &c., are still sung at the palace and temple by the Court musicians. The names of some of the eminent musicians of his time may here be mentioned:—Vadivelu Nattuvan, Ponniah Nattuvan, Parameswara Baghavathar, Muthuswami Baghavathar, Sesha Baghavathar, and Venkatarama Baghavathar.

The period next in brilliancy as regards music is the reign of His Highness Aillyam Tirunal Maharaja (1861-1880). It is worthy of note that the Maharaja himself was an eminent singer.

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

A writer in the *Times* points out the individuality and beauty of

The Poetry of Thomas Hardy
and incidentally makes mention of the salient features of his novels. Says he:

The novels are sometimes called impersonal, and so they are, in the sense that the pulse of human interest is not always the most significant thing in them, and never the only one. There is the whole situation and its setting in inanimate nature, and there is the sweep of destiny in which men's lives are caught. In the poems, on the other hand, page after

page is simply and directly human. Among these personal or "impersonative" themes some are tragic and some are trivial, but all are prompted immediately by the experience of living.

The novel-world is rich, firm, and intricate; a country that, whether we rest in its imaginations or track the imaged realities, has places we can move in with a certainty of living detail. We can tell the pools where the cattle will be standing and how the heath's face alters with the changes of the year. But in the world of the poems there is a difference which even familiar names and an occasional minuteness of picture cannot hide. It is as though the color and substance of the setting had shrunk in a more penetrating light. The close texture of the novels thins to elemental terms of space and time. It is a world both definite and abstract. A mood is fixed precisely "at this point of time, at this point in space," but the converging lines stretch so far away that the chief impression is of vastness.

The permeating vision is suggested in one of the new poems, "The House of Silence." A child and a man are looking at a house with massed trees and a shaded lawn, and the child exclaims how quiet it must be there, for nobody ever seems to move about. Then the answer comes:

Ah, that's because you do not bear
The visioning powers of souls who dare
To pierce the material screen.

Morning, noon, and night,
Mid those funereal shades that seem
The uncanny scenery of a dream,
Figures dance to a mind with sight,
And music and laughter like floods of light
Make all the precincts gleam.

It is a poet's bower,
Through which there pass, in fleet arrays,
Long teams of all the years and days,
Of joys and sorrows, of earth and heaven,
That meet mankind in his ages seven,
An æon in an hour.

But this visionary mood does not work always through abstractions. The seer is also a poet of humanity, to a degree which may surprise those who are accustomed to think of him in the other connection. It is just this contrast between the universal and the accidental, the permanent and the transitory, which makes the spell of his poetry. We imagined him musing over æons and dynasties, and we find he is a singer of the smallest human things. No doubt the sense of destiny pervades all his songs, and in a moment we can roll up the curtain which divides the purely human scene from the unseen ways behind it; but still the business of life is given without any of its immediate interest having faded. This interest extends to the most fugitive fancies and the most trifling incidents. Nothing now seems too small for an eye which just before was fastened on big things. An old sketch, an old psalm-tune, a strange pedestrian on the heath, a halt in a railway waiting room, are among these themes; and "Midnight on the Great Western" is typical of the way he handles them:

In the third-class seat sat the journeying boy,
And the roof-lamp's oily flame
Played down on his listless form and face,
Bewrapt past knowing to where he was going,
Or whence he came.

In the band of his hat the journeying boy
Had a ticket stuck; and a string

Around his neck bore the key of his box,
That twinkled gleams of the lamp's sad beams
Like a living thing.

What past can be yours, O journeying boy,
Towards a world unknown,
Who calmly, as if indifferent quite
To all at stake, can undertake
This plunge alone?

Knows your soul a sphere, O journeying boy,
Our rude realms far above,
Whence with spacious vision you mark and mete
This region of sin that you find you in,
But are not of?

His language, as critics have pointed out, leans to the logical plainness and hardness of prose, and we look in vain for that rich imagery which, in Keats for instance, leaves behind it a long echo of haunting suggestion. His words, it is said, stand for what they are and for nothing more than they are. There is a truth in this, and it follows that they often convey less than they should; they are adequate enough for clearness, but they are not in tune with the whole meaning, or with the spirit of life which is the true spirit of poetry.

The rhythm is most important of all, for Hardy works it out with a mastery which is in keeping with the careful construction of the novels. This side of the poet's art—the sheer art of song—has clearly engrossed him; and his choice of rhythm is so various that it is not to be defined too narrowly. The characteristic which seems to stand out most is perhaps the one which would be least expected. The lilting, changing strain of his verse, the tune of it, is what strikes one. As in this song "To the Moon," for instance:

"What have you mused on, Moon,
In your day,
So aloof, so far away?"

"O, I have mused on, often mused on
Growth, decay,
Nations alive, dead, mad, aswoon,
In my day!"

Have you much wondered, Moon,
On your rounds,
Self-wrapt, beyond Earth's bounds?"

Yea, I have wondered, often wondered
At the sounds
Reaching me of the human tune
On my rounds."

"What do you think of it, Moon,
As you go?
Is Life much, or no?"

"O, I think of it, often think of it
As a show
God means surely to shut up soon,
As I go."

War and Population.

The *Spectator* has an article which shows that "since the war began the population of the United Kingdom has increased by excess of births over deaths to such an extent as more than to counter-balance the whole of the losses of our (British) armies in the field." We read:

It is a common practice to take the year 1876, when the birth-rate in England and Wales was the highest recorded, as a starting-point, and to regard any falling off from that year as heralding a national disaster. But there is nothing sacred about the year 1876 or about the birth-rate of that year. It would be quite as legitimate to argue that we should take some earlier and lower rate as the standard, or alternatively that we ought to aspire to a much higher rate. A further blunder commonly committed is to forget that the decisive question is not the rate of increase but the amount of increase.

A third point almost invariably overlooked is the close connection between birth-rates and infantile death-rates. What really matters is not so much the number of children born into the world, though that of course does matter a great deal, as the number who grow up.

The average annual number of marriages in England and Wales for the years 1909-13 was, in round figures, 275,000. In 1914 this rose to 294,000; in 1915 to 361,000; in 1916 it fell again to 180,000. It is also to be noted that during the first half of 1917 the number of marriages fell appreciably as compared with the corresponding period in each of the three preceding years, and as compared with the average for 1909-13. Presumably this last fact means that owing to the absence of such a large proportion of the manhood of the country, marriages had become impossible. Sir Bernard Mallet sums up these figures by stating that, in round numbers, 200,000 people were married in England and Wales between August, 1914, and June, 1917, who in the ordinary course of events would not have been married. In Scotland the corresponding figure was 8,000; in Ireland there was no material change.

In contrast with the remarkable increase of marriages in the year 1915, there was a very considerable decrease in birth in 1916, and again in 1917. The births in England and Wales in 1916 showed a drop of nearly 11 per cent as compared with 1915. Still more striking is the fact that in the first quarter of 1917 the births dropped over 17 per cent as compared with the corresponding period of 1915; in the second quarter nearly 24 per cent; and in third quarter just under 28 per cent.

Since the war began there has been a remarkable drop in infantile mortality in all parts of the United Kingdom. The rate per thousand fell in England from 108 in 1913 to 91 in 1916; in Scotland from 110 to 97; in Ireland, which has long had a comparatively low rate of infantile mortality, the rate dropped from 97 to 83. These figures show that concurrently with the decline in the birth-rate there has been a decline in the death-rate.

Several causes have helped since the war began to reduce the general rate of infant mortality. One of this is the restriction of the sale of alcoholic liquors. Before the war one of the regular and one of the ugliest features of our social life was the number of deaths of infants recorded as due to suffocation. They had been overlaid by their parents in bed. The number recorded on Sundays was always very much higher than on any other day in the week, the inference being that Saturday night's drinking meant the suffocation of the baby in bed before Sunday morning. Since the sale of alcoholic liquors was restricted there has been an appreciable decline in the infantile mortality attributed to this cause, and especially in the number of infant deaths recorded on Sundays. The net result of all causes affecting births and deaths is that during the two years 1915-1916

and the first half of 1917 the excess of births over deaths in England and Wales was 590,000, in Scotland 83,000, and in Ireland 41,000, making a total for the United Kingdom of 714,000. If we add the increase recorded from August to December, 1914, this total comes to well over 900,000—a figure which far exceeds the military and naval losses.

The Irish Situation.

There is so much similarity between conditions in Ireland and those in India that any information regarding the problems of Ireland and the means adopted by the Irish to solve them is welcome. An informing article dealing with the political, industrial and agrarian movements on foot in Ireland appears in the *Fortnightly Review* from the pen of John Mcgrath, from which we make some extracts.

There are two main influences in Ireland at the present time—Sinn Féin, which is sweeping over the country like a tidal wave, giving forth an awful roar in its progress, and obliterating all sorts of old landmarks; and the Convention, which sits noiselessly behind closed doors in the Regent's House of Trinity College, and about which, to use an Irish phrase, nobody's supposed to know nothing.

Surface observers seem to think that the winning of Parliamentary seats by the Sinn Féiners takes away something from the authority of the Convention. On the contrary, it immensely increases it. The Sinn Féiners of today, all of them unconsciously, are giving the very greatest assistance to Sir Horace Plunkett in his endeavors to reach an Irish settlement through the Convention, although they do not see it, and still cherish the delusion that they have boycotted that assembly into sterility. On the contrary, they are the sheet-anchor of the Convention, and the more Parliamentary seats they win while it is sitting the greater will be the chance of what Mr. Bonar Law has called "a substantial agreement" between the various sections of the Convention's delegates.

Sir Horace Plunkett, as chairman of the Irish National Convention, is as inevitably the right man in the right place as Parnell was inevitably the right man in the right place when he succeeded Isaac Butt as Nationalist leader in 1879. And it is very remarkable how the ideas of these two great Irishmen in regard to Ireland run on parallel lines. They both started from the jumping-off place of national economics. Parnell said to the farmers: "Keep a firm grip of your homesteads." Plunkett, when that policy was assured of ultimate success through the Land Act of 1881 and the subsequent Land Purchase Acts, said: "Having got possession of your holdings, learn how to make the most of them."

The one man, as a matter of fact, was the sequel and complement of the other. Yet there was a difference in their procedure. Parnell, at the outset of his career, declared that he would not take off his coat in the cause of the Irish farmers if he did not see, as an ultimate result of his efforts, the restoration of the Irish Parliament. The one phase of Mr. Plunkett when he began his career as a reformer in Ireland that lives still in some Irish memories was not so for-

fortunate. In a speech at Belfast—a particularly unhappy environment for such a declaration—he stated that “we must disinfect Irish politics with a little common sense.” It seemed an extremely sinister expression at the time, and it gave an excuse to a certain class of people to abuse a man who really, just then, wasn’t thinking much about politics at all, but who had simply started out to organize the first real Sinn Féin campaign and to teach the doctrine that Irishmen could do a whole lot of things for themselves at home without any assistance whatever from the Parliament in London. In order to establish this proposition he started the Irish Agricultural Organization Society, as a purely voluntary body, which never received the slightest assistance from the State until years afterwards when it got a mouse’s part of help after the State realized that it was doing State business, and doing it remarkably well.

But Mr. Plunkett, although he was the first of the modern Sinn Féiners—did not refuse Government assistance. He actually thought, indeed, that it might have been a little bit more generous. He had no notion of boycotting the Imperial Parliament—not he. He even went so far as to become a member of it. And while a member of it he actually put his further Sinn Féin ideas into operation. Ireland, he said to himself, being an agricultural country, needed an Agricultural Department, such, for instance, as that which was doing so much for the agricultural development of Canada. How was that to be brought about? By resolutions and debates at Westminster? No; but by Irishmen at home showing exactly what they wanted, and putting their demands, cut and dried, and properly worked out by themselves, before the House of Commons. He came back to Ireland, called together a small meeting in Dublin of representative Irishmen to consider the not unimportant question of how to discover a means of putting the main industry of the country on its feet, and giving it the necessary machinery for right direction. For practical and immediate purposes he thought that the recent, successful economic, and especially agricultural, experiments and developments in such countries as Wurtemberg and Denmark might suggest some lessons to Irishmen. And so he sent Mr. T. P. Gill, to make inquiries into the new agrarian methods that had so recently brought about such desirable changes in those countries.

Mr. Gill came back from the Continent, with

a very formidable mass of information as to how two little Continental nations, by the adoption of new and intelligent ideas, were able actually to make two blades of grass grow where only one grew before.

With this information before it Mr. Plunkett’s “Recess Committee” met, and in due time issued a report—known to history as “The Recess Committee’s Report.” And out of that report, in due time, also emerged “The Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction for Ireland,” which is, at the present time, the only Government institution in the country that is universally acknowledged by everybody to have had a beneficent influence on the lives of the people.

Mr. Horace Plunkett established nearly twenty years ago a veritable periodic Parliament of Ireland composed of all sections of the community, and, strange to say, with almost exactly the same number of members as the Irish representation in the Imperial Parliament under the Act of Union. And during all these years this Irish Parliament has been quietly doing the biggest business of the country, outside legislation.

The Irish Parliament of Sir Horace Plunkett is called the Council of Agriculture. It has 104 members, consisting of a minority nominated by the Department itself from each of the four provinces, and a majority elected by the County Councils. And these 104 men of divergent views from North and South work together heartily for the common good of the whole island.

The difference between Sir Horace Plunkett as a Sinn Féiner, and the Sinn Féiners who have given themselves the name, is that he has carried the policy of “Ourselves Alone” into practice, with the happiest results, whereas they have never tried anything practical whatever, unless the word covers writing articles and making speeches.

Sir Horace Plunkett, like Parnell, believes in work in Ireland itself done by Irishmen. But, like Parnell again, he thinks that when it is necessary, in order to make that work fruitful, to use Parliamentary methods, why, Parliamentary methods must be set going. Consequently, during his twenty years or so of public life he has conferred on Ireland boons that are second only to those given to her by Parnell himself during his tragically short political career of only eleven.

NOTES

“The Most Important Event of Modern India.”

In the *Manchester Guardian*, March 28, 1918, Sir Rabindranath Tagore calls “the birth and life-work of Rammohan Ray” “the most important event of modern India.” He says:—

“The first Aryan immigrants came to India with their tribal gods and special ceremonials, and their

conflict with the original inhabitants of India seemed to have no prospect of termination. In the midst of this struggle the conception of a universal soul, the spiritual bond of unity in all creatures, took its birth in the better minds of the time. This heralded a change of heart, and along with it a true basis of reconciliation.

“During the Mohammedan conquest of India, behind the political turmoil, our inner struggle was spiritual. Like Asoka of the Buddhist age, Akbar also had his vision of spiritual unity. A succession of great men of those centuries, both Hindu saints

and Mohammedan sufis, was engaged in building a kingdom of souls over which ruled the one God who was the God of Mohammedans as well as Hindus.

"In India this striving after spiritual realisation still shows activity. And I feel sure that the most important event of modern India has been the birth and life-work of Rammohan Ray, for it is a matter of the greatest urgency that the East and the West should meet and unite in hearts. Through Rammohan was given the first true response of India when the West knocked at her door. He found the basis of our union in our own spiritual inheritance, in faith in the reality of the oneness of man in Brahma."

The article from which we have taken the above paragraphs is written from the loftiest standpoint and will be found printed among our "Gleanings" in this issue.

The German-Indian Conspiracy Trial.

The reader is aware that as the result of the German-Indian conspiracy trial in San Francisco fifteen Indians have been sentenced to terms of imprisonment ranging from thirty days to twenty-two months, Dr. Chakrabarty, who was sentenced to thirty day's imprisonment, having also had a fine of five thousand dollars inflicted on him. A telegram to the London *Times* from New York says :—

In pronouncing sentence in the Indian conspiracy trial at San Francisco the Judge placed the guilt for the conspiracy on the German Supreme Command. The Judge characterised the Hindu conspirators as mere cat's-paws of the ruthless Prussian military system.

Sentencing Bopp, Von Brinken and Von Schack, heads of the German Consulate in San Francisco, the Judge declared that they with the German Embassy in Washington and the German Foreign Office were the nerve centres of a world-wide plot to foment rebellion in India.

It may not be a matter for surprise that German intriguers succeeded in persuading some uneducated or half-educated Indians in America to believe that an armed revolution was feasible and desirable in India, but that persons, like some of the conspirators, who had graduated in Indian or foreign universities or had received some education in other ways and could therefore be presumed to know the present circumstances of India and what modern warfare meant, should believe it possible and desirable, is rather surprising. What methods the Germans used to make cat's-paws of them we do not know. One method was perhaps to suggest that distinguished Indians were of the same way of thinking as the chief plotters; for in the extracts read out from an American paper by Sir William Vincent in the Indian Legislative Council there is

mention of the names of two distinguished Indian patriots who certainly had nothing to do with the conspiracy. The intriguers appear also to have used the name of a far more famous Indian, known all over the civilised world. They tried to connect Sir Rabindranath Tagore's name with the conspiracy, and the *Madras Mail* has made that fact the occasion for an insinuation and has impudently suggested that Sir Rabindranath should offer an explanation to enable Government to say whether they are satisfied with it! The German lies and the *Madras Mail's* insinuation are, of course, too contemptible and ridiculous to deserve any serious refutation. It is as impossible for Sir Rabindranath Tagore to have anything to do with an affair like this conspiracy as for light and darkness to co-exist; though, from what we know of him, he would, if any occasion rose for it, be proud to suffer for the cause of human freedom in an open and honorable manner. But that is by the by. The lies were, no doubt, meant to serve various other purposes than what we have hinted at before. For instance, the Germans probably wanted to pose before the world as liberators of India on the strength of the lie that the greatest Indian of international fame was with them; but, as far as we are aware, no nation or national embassy ever took them at their word. A more immediate object, as suggested above, was probably to inveigle as many Indians as possible to be made cat's-paws of. But this object, too, was probably not gained to any considerable extent. Prominent Indian conspirators were under no delusion as to the poet's opinions. Whatever other mistakes they had made as regards his views and personality, they were right in their conviction that he was not with them. In the account of the San Francisco trial published in the *Pioneer*, we read that one of the conspirators, Ram Chandra by name, was shot dead in court by a fellow-conspirator in the course of the trial. When Sir Rabindranath Tagore was lecturing in America in 1916, this Ram Chandra, signing himself as Editor "*Hindustan Gadar*," wrote a letter against the poet to the *San Francisco Examiner* of October 5, 1916, from which we will quote without comment only one brief passage.

"How can Tagore say that India has not lost her

soul? If this soul is not entirely dead and shows some sign of awakening life it is not on account of Tagore's preaching of peace, but rather on account of the New India party, the Gadar, which, singularly enough, is more powerful in Bengal, Tagore's own province, than anywhere else."

Another conspirator, Gobinda Behari Lal, M. A. (University of California), "From Delhi, India," who has been sentenced to a long term of imprisonment, wrote a letter against Tagore to the *San Francisco Examiner* of the 6th October, 1916, from which a few sentences are quoted below:—

"Sir: Will it not be interesting for you to know what the Hindus think of Tagore?"

"They do not think he represents in any sense the ideas, sentiments or feelings which they at present entertain in regard to political, economic or philosophical issues.

"The heart of India is in the Anti-British revolutionary movement, which is rapidly transforming India along modern lines. But Mr. Tagore stands aloof from this movement just as Goethe stood aloof from the German war of liberation a century ago.

"The Hindus are justly proud of the poetic achievements of Tagore, but they do not care for his social-political philosophy."

It seems that it was not prominent Indian conspirators alone who knew that the poet was not with them; the uneducated or half-educated rank and file, too, were aware of the fact, as an incident which happened during Sir Rabindranath's stay at San Francisco would show. It was thus described in the *San Francisco Examiner* of 6th October, 1916.

"Word of a plot to assassinate Sir Rabindranath Tagore, Hindu poet and Nobel Prize-winner, reached the police yesterday and led to extraordinary precautions to guard him in his apartments at the Palace Hotel and at the Columbia theatre, where he lectured in the afternoon."

"The Hindu poet was a storm centre throughout his stay in San Francisco yesterday. Professor Bishen Singh Mattu, a Venerable Hindu, who came from Stockton to induce Tagore to lecture in that city, was assaulted and had his white turban torn from his head in front of the Palace Hotel.

"Umrao Singh, savant and companion of Bishen Singh, helped to beat off the attack on the old man, and two Hindus who took part in the riot were placed under arrest.

"The prisoners gave the names of H. Singh Hateshi and Dewan Singh, and said they were employees of Ram Chandra, editor of the local 'Hindustan Gadar.' [Ram Chandra admitted this fact but denied that they acted on his instructions.]

"The Gadar party represents the radical Hindu revolutionists in San Francisco, and the assault on Bishen Singh Mattu, who is a leader of the more conservative Khalsa Diwan Society, was prompted by the fact that the professor was to invite Tagore to lecture in Stockton."

"Umrao Singh, who was with Professor Bishen Mattu when the latter was attacked in front of the

Palace yesterday, said that when they were journeying from Fresno to Stockton on Wednesday they were joined by another Hindu.

"This emissary learned of our plans to ask Tagore to lecture in Stockton before the Khalsa Diwan Society," said Umrao Singh, "and he then hurried to San Francisco and told the members of the Gadar party. We were told on arriving here that we must not deliver the invitation to Tagore, as the Gadar party did not want him lecturing in the United States. We properly ignored this injunction and the attack on Professor Bishen Singh Mattu followed. We did, however, succeed in delivering the invitation to Tagore to lecture through his secretary, but we did not get to see the poet himself."

The two men who had assaulted Bishen Singh were tried and thrown into jail, and the incident was reported in the papers throughout the United States. The *Portland Oregonian* (Oct. 6, 1916) explained that "Representatives of the revolutionary party are said to have warned Professor Singh not to deliver the invitation to Tagore as the lecturer was expounding a philosophy not in tune with the revolution." Interviewed by a representative of the *Los Angeles Examiner* the poet is reported to have said:

"As for a plot to assassinate me, I have the fullest confidence in the sanity of my countrymen, and shall fulfil my engagements without the help of police protection. I take this opportunity emphatically to assert that I do not believe there was a plot to assassinate me, though I had to submit to the farce of being guarded by the police, from which I hope to be relieved for the rest of my visit to this country."

To an interviewer of the *Los Angeles Times* he is reported to have said:

"I do not know what it was about. San Francisco newspapers attempted to connect me with the trouble, but I have not read their accounts of it. I cannot expect more trouble because I do not know what the last was about. I have no guard and no more attendants than usual."

He added, however, that the attack probably resulted from racial or political differences in which he had no interest.

A Britisher's Impressions of India.

Mr. William Archer, a Scotsman who quitted the Bar for journalism, is said to have become the foremost British dramatic critic, and writes criticism for the "Star." He has translated and edited Ibsen's plays. He has also written a criticism on Mr. H. G. Wells's theology. His book "India and the Future" contains among other things his impressions of the places he visited in Ceylon and India. His impressions of Indians and Europeans at Colombo are very interesting.

Ceylon is not India, but may be called its vestibule

or outer court: and Colombo swarmed with Indians of many tribes and castes. Coming from Japan and China, I spent a few days in Colombo... and quite sincerely—without the slightest tinge of preconceived theory or paradox,—I found myself blushing for my race. These orientals, with their noble carriage, their dignity and distinction, seemed incomparably the finer breed of men. I do not mean the Sinhalese but more particularly the Indian immigrants. One saw sinister faces, one saw fanatical faces, one saw heavy and rather stupid faces, but not one of the unfinished, shapeless and potato-faces so common in a European crowd—so common in the crowd at my hotel. I must confess that, for some reason or other, that crowd was an exceptionally insignificant set of people. As I looked round the dining room of an evening and saw the dapper little men in their dinner jacket uniform, and the over-dressed or under-dressed women, chattering about the day's racing or the morrow's hockey, and complacently listening to the imbecile jingles ground out by the band,—I could not help asking myself by what possible right we posed as a superior race. Outside, in the streets, I had seen Othello, I had seen Shylock, I had seen Sohrab and Rustum, I had seen a hundred stately and impressive figures. I had even seen two or three men who might have sat to a realistic painter as models for Christ,—not of course the bland and lymphatic Saviour of pictorial convention, but the olive-browed, coal-eyed, Enthusiast of historic probability. Surely it was a strange topsyturvydom that reckoned the races which produced these figures essentially inferior to the trivial mob around me—devoid of dignity, devoid of originality, devoid of earnestness, all cut to one dull pattern, all living up to the ideals of the vulgar sporting papers, the only literature to which they appeared addicted.

I do not attribute any evidential value to this somewhat splenetic mood. I own that it never occurred with equal strength in India itself, where take turn all round the sahibs look like sahibs in whatever environment they are placed. They are often by no means such "fine men" as the Indians around them, but they and their forefathers for many generations have lived an intenser, a larger, a saner life and it has left its imprint on their features. I speak particularly of the men in the upper grades of the services, who are, in a very real sense, picked men, while my fellow sojourners at the Colombo Hotel were (I know not why) distinctly below the fair British average.

Mr. Archer then assigns a reason why the Indians he saw appeared to be of such superior physical types. "Perhaps, too," says he, "my keen admiration for the Indian types was partly to be traced to my recent recollections of the Japanese and Chinese, whose warmest admirers will scarcely claim for them great dignity of carriage or nobility of features."

He follows this up with his impression of Calcutta.

I admit, in short, that this early impression of positive physical superiority is subject to a good deal of discount; but I note it for what it is worth. Oddly enough, the one place where it definitely occurred to me was Calcutta. The physical type of the average Bengali as you meet him in the streets—tall, bare-headed, with his toga-like garment lightly

draped around him—seemed to me remarkably distinguished.

More than a century ago, Lord Minto, the first Governor-General of India of that name, gave his impressions of the Indian men he saw about him, in a letter which he wrote to the Hon. A. M. Elliot. He wrote the letter from Calcutta on September 20, 1807, after visiting Barrackpore. We quote a few sentences from it.

"The men themselves are still more ornamental. I never saw so handsome a race. They are much superior to the Madras people, whose forms I admired also. Those were slender. These are tall, muscular, athletic figures, perfectly shaped and with the finest possible cast of countenance and features. Their features are of the most classical European models with great variety at the same time; but the females seem still as hideous as at Madras, and one cannot conceive that they should be the mothers of such handsome sons."—*Lord Minto in India*, by the Countess Minto.

Perhaps owing to the prevalence of *purdah*, Lord Minto saw only the women of the lower orders of the people.

Mr. Archer's impressions of Madura were not favourable. Says he:

Now take another impression of only two days later. From Colombo to Tuticorin you cross in a night: the early afternoon finds you in Madura. But what is it that gives the crowd such a strange and savage aspect? Unless you are prepared for it (as I was not) you almost gasp as you realise that every one has his or her forehead daubed with some garish device for all the world like the war-paint of the Indians of the west. But this is not war paint, it is religion paint. In the South it is practically universal and it gives to the people a strange air of savagery combined with fanaticism. What of ear-decorations and nose jewels? Outside of Darkest Africa there is only one more repellent manifestation of a perverted sense of beauty, and that is in the tortured feet of the women of China. The women of Southern India not only carry in their ears enormous hoops and clusters of hoops—that would be a trifle—but often great carved bars of gold, three or four inches long and an inch thick, for the insertion of which not only the lobe of the ear but the upper cartilage is pierced and horribly distorted.

Here is his description of animal sacrifices in a temple, with his comments thereupon.

Then I took a gharry and drove past a wonderful banyan tree, that might have sheltered an army to a really beautiful tank. Under some trees on the further shore stood a little yellow temple. A figure of the goddess Kali was dimly visible. In front of the portico stood an altar, and the earth around it was sodden with blood. Four newly severed heads of kids lay at the altar foot: and as I stood there a burly Brahmin caught one of the several live kids that were skipping around, doused it with water from a brass pot, threw it down, placed his foot on its head and gashed its throat with a knife. Then he turned back the head so as to make the muscles of the throat tense and with another slash completed the decapita-

tion....Far worse cruelties are perpetrated, I dare say, in slaughter houses; infinitely worse on battle fields. But it was the first time I had seen innocent bloodshed in the name of religion and I drove back to Madura radically revising the illusion to which I had well nigh yielded in Colombo, only forty-eight hours before....

The more we look into it the more clearly do we realise that these institutions have spelt disaster to the people of India. No intelligent Hindu would contest this statement, though many, if not all, would contend for a soul of goodness in Hinduism. Perhaps they are right. At all events they are probably wise in attempting to base their efforts at reform on the conservation of whatever elements of good they can find in the national tradition. These reforming movements are in many ways admirable and deserving of all sympathy, but the task before them is huge.

Indian Conspirators and Sinn Feiners in America.

Reuter cables from New York—

New York, May-23.

Cardinal Farley has prohibited priests from presiding at Sinn Fein meetings under pain of expulsion from the Diocese.—"Reuter."

Indian conspirators in America have been tried and sentenced to varying terms of imprisonment. But the Sinn Feiners can still openly hold meetings. As like the aforesaid Indians, they, too, have conspired with Germany to foment rebellion in their own country and that on a much larger scale than was attempted by the Indians, and as rebellion actually broke out in that island resulting in bloodshed and plunder, which was not the case in India, the only reason for not dealing with the Sinn Feiners in the way the Indian conspirators have been dealt with would seem to be that the Irish are possessed of political power both in their own country and in America and are consequently strong in both countries, whereas Indians do not possess political power anywhere on earth. As both Irish and Indian conspirators are political offenders, their movements should have been dealt with in the same way.

In Ireland more than a hundred Sinn Fein leaders have been arrested, and most of them have been deported. But the movement itself has not been suppressed, the rank and file being left undisturbed in their homes. During the Anti-Partition agitation in Bengal, the Anushilan Samiti, the Brati Samiti, and other similar associations were suppressed as unlawful associations, though they never did anything even remotely resembling what the Sinn Feiners have done. That the Sinn Fein movement is still being carried on will

appear from the following news cabled by Reuter :

A SINN FEIN MANIFESTO.

The "Daily News" correspondent in Dublin says the whole country is quiet. The Sinn Fein organisers on Sunday [19th May] issued a statement that Lord French's proclamation was issued with the sole object of trying to weaken the national will and create panic. Anticipating such action, the Standing Committee of the Sinn Fein nominated substitutes to carry on during the enforced temporary exile of leaders. The country may rest assured that no matter how many leaders are arrested, there will be men and women to replace them. The correspondent adds that the apparent ease with which De Valera was arrested is one of the most serious shocks that the Sinn Fein has sustained. His intimates declared that if he were taken alive he would only be taken wounded, while the rank and file of the movement had a pathetic faith in the invulnerability of their chief. The Sinn Feiners appear to be dumbfounded at what actually happened. The correspondent says the prisoners will not be brought before any tribunal, military or civil, but will be interned under the Defence of the Realm Act.

Australia and Fiji.

The news has come from Australia by the last mail that the women of every Province have been taking up very warmly indeed the cause of the Indian women in Fiji. The following address has been sent by the National Council of Women of West Australia, (of which Council Lady Aberdeen is the international President), to the women of India,

We are instructed by the W. A. National Council of Women to convey to you, the women of India, an expression of that deep sympathy and compassion which is felt throughout this organisation by the report received on the indentured system of labour in Fiji, especially as touching the deplorable plight of these women employed therein. This infamous revelation,—hardly credible in a so-called civilised era,—has aroused in our Council the most intense sorrow and indignation; and we are greatly desirous that our sisters in India should realise that their fellow-women in Western Australia are with them heart and soul in protest against such a condition of affairs, which must, if fully known, make a tragic appeal to all true women all the world over.

We trust that you will believe that though our power seems small in such a matter, our wish to help in remedying this crying evil is very great, and that should opportunity arise we shall use it to the best and truest of our ability."

(Signed) Edith Cowan, Ethel Pithington, on behalf of
President Secretary W.N.C.

Other general letters have been received from the Women's Service Guild and the Women's Christian Temperance Union, which will be printed in next month's issue. We also learn that a Deputation, representing the most important Women's

Unions from all the Provinces of Australia, has waited upon the new Governor of Fiji, the Hon. Mr. Rodwell,—who comes from South Africa,—in order to put before him clearly the very strong feeling that exists in Australia concerning the actions of the C. S. R. Company and the Planters,—especially their neglect of moral conditions in connection with Indian women. What that state is may be seen in full detail,—which is terrible to read,—in the first article in this number.

A large crowded meeting was held in Sydney, New South Wales, in connection with this Deputation, which was attended by influential women from every Australian Province, at which the following resolutions were passed :—

- (1) That the Companies and Planters be asked to agree,
- (a) That a woman Matron be appointed to each principal Indian hospital where Indian women attend.
- (b) That separate married quarters should be provided for married Indian labourers.
- (c) That older and, if possible, married men should be placed in charge of the Indian women working in the fields.
- (2) That each member of this meeting works energetically towards influencing public opinion, both personally and through organisations.
- (3) That a deputation representing citizens of all states should wait on the new Governor of Fiji on his way through Sydney to that Colony.

The officials in Fiji have evidently become alarmed at this strong outburst of Australian feeling. Mr. C. F. Andrews has received the following letter from the Governor of Fiji, Sir Bickham Sweet-Escott, through the Colonial Secretary :—

Sir,
I am directed by the Governor to inform you that His Excellency has been informed by the District Commissioner of Nadi, that you have arranged in Australia that two ladies, viz., Miss Dixon and Miss Priest, should come to Fiji to work among the Indians... It appears from Mr. Pilling's letter that you expected that the Indians of the District would make suitable arrangements for the housing accommodation of the ladies referred to. He, however, has reported that, from information he has gathered, no attempt will be made in that direction by the Indians in the District...

His Excellency has directed me to inform you, that, in the opinion of the Agent General of Immigration and in His Excellency's own opinion also, the ladies referred to should not come out until adequate arrangements have been made for their reception, accommodation, and maintenance, without depending in any way on contributions by the Indians in the District.

It should be noted that the Indians of this District contributed £275 (or over Rs. 4000) for the Red Cross Fund on

October 20, 1917, and were as eager as possible to welcome the ladies in question if they could be sent out. The letter of the Governor of Fiji must be read in the light of these facts. A copy of this letter was sent by the Governor (presumably through official channels) to Miss Dixon and Miss Priest while waiting in Sydney for a steamer, and an attempt was made to prevent Miss Dixon's passports being given till a decision should be arrived at in view of the information offered. Miss Priest writes as follows :—

"Of course it made no difference to us at all. We thanked them and said that we intended to proceed notwithstanding. We have got our passports. . . There may be difficulties ahead. I need not tell you, however, that troubles of that kind would not frighten us! I can and have lived quite comfortably among Indians outside European Society. The only trouble would be, if they influence the Indians against us in various ways—those Indians, I mean, who are in any sort of way dependent on them. That would mean delay to the work, and that is all. It is a righteous cause and it must come right in the end. Meanwhile, we shall do our best and leave the rest. We have no fear; it is for India's dear sake."

Miss Priest was for twelve years at the Hindu Indraprastha Girls' High School, working with Miss Gmeiner in Delhi.

The news has come by this mail, also, that Mr. V. M. Pillay, from Madras, who was experiencing great difficulties in competition with the European merchants in the main Island,—while endeavouring to provide Indians with the goods they needed at cheaper rates,—has had his shop burnt to the ground in a new district where great opposition had been shown to him. The cost to him will amount to about £2,000 or Rs. 30,000. There is a grave suspicion that it was an intentional act, though nothing has yet been proved.

It remains now to be seen what the new Governor, Mr. Rodwell, will be able to accomplish. His South African antecedents are not, at first sight, hopeful; because nowhere else have the Indians been more penalised on account of their race than in South Africa. It must not be forgotten that though the actual recruiting for indenture has been abolished, there are still some thousands in the plantations of Fiji serving out their five years' indenture. Their lot,—as the very last remnant of the old bad system,—is the most pitiable of all, and they feel their degradation most keenly.

India's Man Power.

India can exert her full man power in every cause which she thinks right only when her sons become men in the true and full acceptance of the word and her daughters also become women in the true and full acceptance of that word.

Bargaining.

We want self-rule as our birth-right. But we have been *supposed* to say, "Give us Home Rule first, and then we will fight for the Empire," and this has been called bargaining. Official and non-official Anglo-Indians have, however, *actually* said in effect, "Fight for the Empire first, and then we will think of giving you Home Rule." And surely that is not bargaining!

"Encouraging a Martial Spirit."

Sir Harvey Adamson was the Home Member during Lord Minto's administration. One of the offences charged against the "Samitis" in Sir Harvey's speech on the Indian Crimes Act was that they "encourage a martial spirit" in their members, the so-called "National Volunteers." This was in December, 1908. Government set about seriously to crush this "martial spirit," and the campaign is not yet over,—as the internment, on mere suspicion, of scores of young men shows. In the meantime the war broke out, and, as days pass, it perhaps seems to Government more and more imperative to rouse and "encourage" that very "martial spirit" which furnished one of the grounds for the passing of the Indian Crimes Act. Even the *Statesman* has recently said:—

"There is more physical courage in the province (Bengal) than is usually supposed, and it is possible that the want of an outlet for youthful energy has conduced in no small measure to the growth of the Anarchist movement."

It is curious that in the *Modern Review* for January 1909, our note on Sir Harvey's speech on the Indian Crimes Act contained the question, "Is it then beyond the power of British statesmanship to find a safe outlet for the martial spirit of every Indian race that may possess or acquire it?"

"While the House is Burning."

We have been told not to talk or think of anything else but the war so long as it lasts. The impression has been sought to be created that in England the people are so pre-occupied with the war that they can

think of nothing else. We have shown in previous issues that they have done many revolutionary things during the war and propose to do more, and are as usual discussing many things unconnected with the war. A few days ago one of Reuter's telegrams informed us that the reform of the English Church was receiving a share of the attention of the British people. Another recent cablegram ran as follows:

London, May 16.

The Minister of Reconstruction has appointed a committee to investigate the desirability of establishing State and Municipal Housing Banks with a view to advancing funds to private persons and bodies for the provision of working class houses after the war.—"Reuter."

So, "while the house is burning", or, rather, *because* "the house is burning" a Minister of Reconstruction has been appointed and he is hatching an *after-war* scheme for housing the working classes.

If we had a Minister of Clothing to try to save women from the shame of nakedness, he could do much humane work. Though this is not an *after-war* scheme, we venture to broach the idea in spite of the fact that the house is burning.

Will there be Self-determination in Mesopotamia?

The *Pioneer's* Madras correspondent was responsible for the news, since contradicted, that an Indian graduate had been appointed first commissioner of the district of Baghdad on a salary of Rs. 750 per month, and it gladdened many of our contemporaries. This set us thinking how the affairs of Mesopotamia would be administered after the war. During the war, of course, as that country still continues to be the battle-ground of the belligerents, it must be held with a strong hand in order that order may be maintained, and conditions may be favourable for the establishment of an autonomous government after the war. According to repeated declarations made by Allied statesmen, the Allies are fighting for the right of self-determination of nations. Hence "the civilised world", whatever that may mean, has a right to expect that Mesopotamia will have that right after the war. There is another reason why one may expect that the right to choose their own form of government will not be denied to the people of Baghdad and the country around it. When last year Baghdad fell into British hands, the late General Sir

Stanley Maude issued a proclamation to the people of that place promising them political institutions which are equivalent to Home Rule. The proclamation stated that the people of Baghdad were not to understand that it was the wish of the British Government to impose upon them alien institutions.

What we are directly concerned with is that the people of India should not look forward to employment by a foreign Government in a conquered country. We do not like the high posts in our country to be monopolised or almost entirely monopolised by foreigners. Why should we then look forward to or rejoice over the prospect of ourselves doing in a foreign country, in however small a way and in however subordinate a capacity, that which we do not like done in our own country and against which we have been agitating for at least a generation? Of course, if a foreign people themselves want us to do any kind of work in their country, as the Japanese have employed British, French and German professors and others, not only is there no harm in accepting such employment but it is a neighbourly duty. But to seek to enjoy the fruits of conquest against the will of a people is not righteous. It gradually paralyses and deadens the conscience of those who enjoy such fruits.

Failure of Crops and Collection of Revenue.

Writing of passive resistance in Kaira, the *Indian Social Reformer* says:

"Just as we find it impossible to believe that there could have been any considerable loss of crops in a taluka where 98 per cent. of the revenue has been collected, we find it equally difficult to believe that in the Matar taluka where only 70 per cent. of it has come in, there has not been a more serious failure than the official estimates show."

It is quite natural and reasonable to argue in this way. But in India the percentage of land revenue collected is not always necessarily proportionate to the yield of the soil in any year or years. We will give an example. According to official statements, in the district of Bankura "in 1913 a large area in the northern portion of the district was devastated by the great Damodar flood. Last year [in 1914] the rains ceased early in September and the yield was most poor in parts." Regarding the year 1915, it was officially stated: "The distress in Bankura district is due to short and ill-distributed rain-

fall in June, July and August, resulting in damage to the winter rice crop and making transplantation impossible over a large area." But in spite of bad luck during three successive years, resulting in famine, we find it stated in the Land Revenue Administration Report for 1914-15 that the percentage of revenue collected in the very poor Bankura District was the highest in the whole of Bengal, viz., 104.9. No doubt, in Bengal, Government collects revenue from the zamindars, not direct from the ryots; but if the ryots do not or cannot pay their full quota for three successive years, the zamindars cannot pay 104.9 per cent. If it be argued that the zamindars had paid from their previous savings, it may also be argued that the Kaira ryots had also paid from their previous savings. And it may be asked, why in other districts of Bengal, not affected by famine, the zamindars could not pay cent. per cent. from their savings. For, in the very year during which Bankura paid 104.9, there were other districts, not affected by bad seasons, which paid 99, 98, and 97 per cent. For fuller details the reader is referred to our Note entitled "Half-fed District Pays 104 per cent. Revenue" in the *Modern Review* for January, 1916, page 122. We must not forget that there is such a thing as merciless exaction under various kinds of threats.

Mr. W. W. Pearson's Arrest.

It was with great pain that we learned that Mr. W. W. Pearson had been arrested by the British authorities in Peking for some "political offence" and escorted to Shanghai, and there probably thrown into prison. In India "political offence" is a very elusive and elastic expression, and no evidence is necessary to support an accusation of political offence; nay, even the formulation of any charge is unnecessary. Even in England a high-souled and peace-loving original thinker of the first rank like Mr. Bertrand Russell has been sentenced to hard labour for a "political offence." In these strange times, therefore, it is not surprising that a gentle and high-souled peace-lover like Mr. Pearson should have been arrested for a "political offence". But nevertheless we are very anxious for him. He had recently suffered for months from dysentery, and from nervous breakdown, and that makes our anxiety all the greater. Anxiety is not

the only feeling in our mind. But a politically powerless people should not perhaps speak of any other feeling;—self-respect also stands in the way.

Mr. Pearson is of Quaker extraction, and is by instinct against any kind of violence. He is of an affectionate disposition and is an eminently lovable person. In Santiniketan, where he has built a house for himself, he is loved by young and old alike. He is withal a straightforward man of high courage and capable of utter self-sacrifice for any cause which he holds dear and right. He is known to educated men all over India for his self-sacrificing labours, in co-operation with his and our friend Mr. C. F. Andrews, on behalf of the Indian residents of Fiji and South Africa. It is literally true that to know him is to love and respect him. In the absence of definite and detailed information it is impossible to offer any comments on the alleged cause of his arrest and imprisonment. But of this we are sure that he has not done anything ignoble or violent, or anything which proceeds from or is calculated to rouse hatred.

His arrest in China raises questions of international importance. The Chinese are an independent sovereign people. How could the British authorities arrest him in Chinese territory? Neither in England, nor in America, nor in Japan, would it have been possible for foreign authorities to arrest and carry away a foreign citizen. In days gone by England has been the refuge of political fugitive from various countries. Recently in America Indian conspirators were not arrested by the British authorities, but were tried and punished by the U. S. Government. Some of the Indian conspirators punished in America had visited Japan, within the knowledge of the British authorities there; but the latter could not arrest them. Japan warned them off.

If India had a national government, Mr. Pearson, who has adopted Bengal as his home, would have been a naturalised citizen of the country; and then we are sure our national government would have lost no time in ascertaining the cause of his arrest from the British authorities in China and taking the necessary steps for securing the release of this sincere and devoted friend of India. But though we are not a self-governing people, we cannot help feeling for one whom we consider a

sincere friend, we cannot stifle the desire to know who the British authorities are at whose instance he has been arrested, whether the British Indian C.I.D. had anything to do with the affair, what is the charge against him and what the evidence, whether he suffers for his love of India, whether he will be openly tried, and above all, under what conditions he has been kept and what is the state of his health. We know we cannot help him by any worldly means at our disposal. We take comfort from the thought that he has the inner strength and resources to turn adversity into a blessing.

The Bengalee had written in this connection: "What the country is asking for is, that an enquiry should at once be made." So far as we are aware, that certainly represents the feeling in the country. But the *Statesman*, which continues to give itself the lying appellation of the *Friend of India*, could not help indulging in the following impudent outburst:—

That stupid expression, "What the country is asking for," occurred once again yesterday in a Bengali contemporary's leading article. "What the country"—that is the 320 million inhabitants of India—"is asking for" this time is that an inquiry should be at once made into the question of the arrest of Mr. W. Pearson in Peking. What does "the country" know about Mr. Pearson? Are there fifty Englishmen in India who can say who Mr. Pearson is, or was, and are there a couple of dozen Bengalees? In any case, how is "the country"—or even the dozen or two people who knew Mr. Pearson—concerned in his arrest when they are ignorant of the circumstances which occasioned and attended it and cannot therefore form any impression whatever of its desirability or necessity? The agitation is entirely spurious, and the language used in the article in question affords an indication of the world of unreality in which the Indian politicians move and have their being.

In the British Isles, too, newspapers occasionally use the words "the country wants to know," "Mr. Lloyd George has the support of the people," etc., etc. Before using these expressions, do British journalists take a plebiscite every time to ascertain the views of every one of the 46,089,249 inhabitants of the United Kingdom? Even the *Statesman*, which has not the least right to speak in the name of India, sometimes professes to represent the views of the people. Does it ascertain these views by a referendum? If even fifty Englishmen in India do not really know Mr. Pearson, so much the worse for them. It would only show that frivolous, selfish and sordid pursuits occupied their attention to such an extent

that they did not know one of their race of whom they could be justly proud. And what if not a single Anglo-Indian (old style) knew him or cared to recognise him? These birds of passage do not represent the country. What for the most part are they to the country but exploiters and administrators from Olympian heights having only a selfish and temporary connection with it? Mr. Pearson is not of that ilk. The *Statesman* speaks of fifty Englishmen and a couple of dozen Bengalis. Nothing shows in a more conspicuous manner the over-weening self-conceit of Anglo-Indians (old style). According to the census of 1911 there were 122,919 natives of the United Kingdom in India, and the number of Bengalis, according to the same census, was more than 48,000,000; but in the eyes of the *Statesman*, the lakh and a quarter of Englishmen loom larger than the nearly five crores of Bengalis! It assumes that in the whole of India only a dozen or two people know Mr. Pearson! Why, even in the school at Santiniketan there are more than two hundred persons, and Mr. Pearson has been there for years and won the affection and respect of successive batches of pupils; and tens of thousands, if not lakhs, of readers of hundreds of Indian newspapers have read either the whole of or extracts from his and Mr. Andrews's South African and Fiji Reports and have come to love and respect him for his calm judgment, impartiality, humanity, love of justice and righteousness, and self-sacrifice.

The Chówinghee paper asks how are the people "concerned in his arrest when they are ignorant of the circumstances which occasioned and attended it and cannot therefore form any impression whatever of its desirability or necessity?" Stupendous! As we are unacquainted with sub-human or superhuman psychology but know only ordinary human mental processes, we think it only natural for men to feel "concerned" as soon as they hear of a friend's arrest, without waiting to know the why and the how of his arrest before feeling concerned, and this concern is greater "when they are ignorant of the circumstances which occasioned and attended it."

India Alone Unrepresented in England.

Mr. K. C. Roy of the Associated Press, which is an organisation under official in-

fluence, has just returned to India from England. He was interviewed by a representative of the *Bombay Chronicle* as to the impressions and experiences of his visit. As he cannot be classified as an extremist his opinion of what ought to be done in England on behalf of India which is not being done ought to open the eyes of all aspirants for freedom, be they Congressmen or Home Rulers. Questioned regarding the position of Indian political workers in London, Mr. Roy remarked:

I must make it quite clear that there are no real Indian workers now in England. I had the advantage of attending a meeting of the British Committee of the National Congress and their considered demand is that there should be an Indian deputation in London which should also undertake the reconstruction of the Committee which is without a President since the death of Sir William Wedderburn. The Home Rule League is the more active body and some of its most prominent members told me that the want of a few Indians to regulate and co-ordinate their efforts for advancement of Indian reform proposals on proper lines was keenly felt. Then there is the Theosophical Society, which takes great interest in Indian affairs and three ladies particularly—Mrs. Ransome, Mrs. Greenside and Miss Wilson—are giving special attention to Indian affairs. They too want some guidance from Indians on the spot."

This will show the extent of the disadvantage at which the War Cabinet has placed India by cancelling the passports of the Indian deputations. It is possible that if the Congress and Home Rule leaders had held and expressed the same views regarding the necessity of sending deputations at the present juncture and taken joint action, the British authorities would have felt greater hesitation in cancelling the passports. There may not be in England what Mr. Roy calls "real Indian workers," but we should not fail to take advantage of the presence of men there like Mr. St. Nihal Singh who has done some good work as a professional journalist.

Mr. Roy expressed the opinion that of all parts of the British Empire India alone was at present unrepresented in London.

"At the present moment London is full of people from all parts of the Empire except India. Go where you will, you will find Australians, Canadians, New Zealanders, but you will rarely meet an Indian. India practically occupies at the present moment a back-seat in the parlour of the Empire and if India is to gain her position as an active and worthy partner of the Empire non-official Indians should be there during the crisis. The only representation of India that I saw was when I encountered a group of the Burmese Labour Corps at the House of Commons on the last day of the session. The spectacle had

doubtless its own significance, but it also gave one food for thought."

Asked as to the reform proposals, Mr. Roy said :

"I have already told you much will depend upon the new Parliament. You have Mr. Montagu's brilliancy and the absolute confidence of the War Cabinet in Lord Chelmsford. That will not suffice. You must work out your own destiny in London."

As regards Lord Sydenham, Mr. Roy thought that

"he is sure to oppose any proposal which may emanate from the long-heralded reform scheme. I have very good reasons for stating that his movement has made no impression in London, especially upon the statesmen in and out of office, but they have got plenty of funds, are diligent and they mean to fight on. It is the duty of our leaders to provide the antidote. Lord Sydenham, though personally popular, is looked upon as a sort of dignified bore in the House of Lords."

He may be a bore in the House of Lords, but his party has got plenty of money, and they are spending the money upon a propaganda to poison the minds of the men and women of Great Britain against India.

Mr. Roy's concluding word of advice and warning was—

"In the reconstruction of party politics it will not do for us to identify ourselves with any special group of politicians, but our leaders should make efforts to enlist the sympathy and active co-operation of all. Mr. Baptista has done splendid work in interesting the Labour Party but we want workers in London who will equally win over the Liberals as well as the Unionists. These parties are in process of new formation and the opportunity thus presents itself to educate them on India in a thoroughly practical and business-like way. The opportunity is one that should not be missed."

Indians who are in England should use all their opportunities to counteract the activities of our opponents, and the Congress Committees and Home Rule Leagues in India should place them in a position to do what is required. All Indians who have friends in England should in their letters urge this duty upon them.

Dr. Nair's Departure for England.

The Bombay Chronicle learns that Dr. T. M. Nair has left for England, and says :

A few months ago it was announced that Dr. T. M. Nair, who has set himself up as anti-Brahmin and anti-Home Rule leader and agitator and is the editor of an organ which has been established with the definite object of opposing the movement for Home Rule or Self-Government for India, would shortly proceed to England to place the anti-Home Rule point of view before the British public.

After the passports of the two Home

Rule deputations had been cancelled, a *communiqué* was issued by the Government of India, in which it was stated that passports to persons proceeding to Europe could only be granted, where the person concerned was proceeding in "the national interest" or for "urgent reasons." These are very vague expressions. "The national interest" means the interest of the or a nation ; which nation ? In the interest of which nation is Dr. Nair proceeding to England ? As for "urgent reasons," how is the nature or degree of urgency to be determined ?

New India writes :

The *Madras Mail*, which is generally believed to be in the confidence of the Government and anti-Home Rulers, writing on the departure of Dr. Nair to England, assures the public that Dr. Nair has been "in poor health" and that "change, rest and a course of treatment at Harrogate or some similar resort have become necessary." It is thus clear that his object is not to serve at the front or to do any other work in connection with the War. Of course the improvement of a man's health is an important matter ; but what about the theory of "national interests" ? Is it to be maintained that Dr. Nair's departure to England is in the "national interests" ? We are also assured that Dr. Nair will make no public speeches in England on Indian politics, because the Home Rule Deputations have been stopped ; but why should the circulation of Sydenhamic lies be permitted ? Having gone to England, Dr. Nair cannot surely be expected to be idle all the time, however much he may need rest. And so the *Mail* prepares the Indian public for a probable contingency : "Any private discussions he may have with a few English friends will not amount to agitation and cannot be regarded as distracting the public mind from War work." In other words, the silent injection of poison will be attempted, without the corresponding antidote to it. In that case, why were not the members of the Home Rule Deputations asked to give details about the nature of their work in England before the insulting *communiqué* was issued ?

If Dr. Nair wanted a change and rest, he could have plenty of it in any of the hill stations of India. If he wanted the rest implied in sea-voyage, surely it could be had to a far greater extent in a comparatively safe voyage across the Indian and Pacific Oceans to Japan or America than across the mined and submarine-infested ocean-way to England, at every turn of which one runs the risk of being torpedoed. Harrogate is famous for its mineral springs. But there are such health resorts in Japan and America, too. It is a peculiar malady which must needs take this anti-Home Rule patient only to a country from which Indian Home Rulers have been unceremoniously excluded. We presume, before proceeding on the voyage, Dr. Nair

eabled to Dr. Lord Sydenham: "Canst thou minister to a mind [politically] diseased?" To which the reply came: "Yes, I can, provided thou hast for thy nurse Mr. ex-Police-Commissioner Edwardes." So it has been arranged that Mr. Edwardes, ex-Police Commissioner of Bombay, is, on reaching England, to act as paid Secretary to the Indo(?)-British Association and honorary nurse to Dr. T. M. Nair. We are also credibly informed that an Act of Parliament will be passed confining Dr. Nair to Harrogate, but should he have, for "urgent reasons", or in "the national interest", to visit London, mineral springs like those at Harrogate would be created for him there, and air raids must stop to enable him to have "rest." The Act of Parliament will also provide that even his private conversations and correspondence in England must be in "the national interest" and that as soon as he digresses to any other topic his tongue must cleave to the roof of his mouth and his hand be automatically held up!

We do not know whether the Government of India or the War Cabinet have allowed the anti-Home-Rule editor of "Justice" to proceed to England. Whoever the final authorities may be, they must have a very poor opinion of the intelligence of Indians and utter contempt for public opinion in India. They must also have thought it would be the most convincing demonstration of British fair play and sense of justice to allow the Sydenhamites to work in England *against* Indian self-rule without allowing us to work there *for* it. Not that the activities of Dr. Nair and his patrons matter very much. But whatever their power, Government must be fair.

If any there be, who think to turn the stream of India's destiny by tricks, they must have overestimated their own powers, and underestimated the power of world-forces, which is often the secular expression for God's will.

But we who seek to fulfil India's destiny must co-operate with God in utter disregard of consequences. Idle optimistic fatalism is despicable and fruitless.

India Expects the English to do their Duty.

In his book on "Nationalism" Sir Rabindranath Tagore writes:

"When in India we become able to assimilate in

our life what is permanent in Western civilization we shall be in the position to bring about a reconciliation of these two great worlds [the East and the West]. Then will come to an end the one-sided dominance which is galling. What is more, we have to recognise that the history of India does not belong to one particular race but to a process of creation to which various races of the world contributed—the Dravidians and the Aryans, the ancient Greeks and the Persians, the Mohammedans of the West and those of central Asia. Now at last has come the turn of the English to become true to this history and bring to it the tribute of their life, and we neither have the right nor the power to exclude this people from the building of the destiny of India."

The view of the author, as we understand it, is that the duty of Englishmen to India is to give her the tribute of their life, not to take tribute from her as exploiters or domineering bureaucrats, and we have neither the right nor the power to exclude those Englishmen who do their duty to India in this way, "from the building of the destiny of India."

Help for Bengal from Madras.

We are glad to learn that Mr. V. A. Sundaram, who was deputed by the Madras Civil Rights Committee to work in Bengal is trying to collect funds in Madras for the Civil Rights Committee and has already met with some success. We are much gratified at this token of fraternal sympathy from the Southern Presidency.

Famine in Garhwal.

Famine is raging in Garhwal, and several philanthropic bodies are working there. So far no serious attempt seems to have been made to collect contributions from Bengal. Bengal has her woes, but may respond to the call of human misery outside her limits. As we have found a visual appeal very effective during some past famines, we should be glad to print photographs of famine-stricken persons, provided they are distinct and telling.

National College of Commerce.

The College of Commerce about to be started under the auspices of the National University will meet a felt want. Judging from the courses and the names of the instructors published, we should expect it to be successful. A National University ought no doubt to provide for a liberal culture for its alumni. But the way to ultimate success must be first through utility, and therefore it is of primary importance to give such vocational education as will fit

men for really independent careers. For, it will be long before graduates of an independent national university are allowed to practise as vakils and pleaders or as recognised medical practitioners, or are given appointments by Government or by educational or other institutions recognised by Government.

Madras Opinion on Dr. Nair's Visit to England.

An Associated Press telegram says that a public meeting was held on the 26th May in the Gokhale Hall in Madras under the presidency of the Hon. Mr. B. N. Sarma in which the following resolution was passed:—

"That this meeting of the citizens of Madras begs to convey its emphatic protest against the grant of a passport to Dr. Nair, who is proceeding to England expressly for carrying on propaganda against all Indian reforms in the direction of self-government. The action of the Government in allowing Dr. Nair to proceed to England even on the ground of health is not justifiable, as such journey cannot be in the national interests, which alone would justify the grant of passport in these times according to Mr. Fisher's statement in the House of Commons on behalf of the Secretary of State for India. This meeting is of opinion that Dr. Nair's real object in going to England is to carry on there with the assistance of powerful friends an anti-Home Rule propaganda by private influence and interview with leading politicians as repeatedly announced by him last month in meetings, and in his paper "Justice." This meeting therefore urges the immediate cancellation of Dr. Nair's passport."

Other resolutions praying for immediate action by His Majesty's Government so that all representative Indians may be allowed to go to England, especially as Mr. Montagu's proposals are to be published shortly, and authorising the Chairman to communicate the above resolutions to the Premier, the Secretary of State, the Viceroy and the Governor of Madras, were passed.

Arrest of Sinn Fein Leaders.

The publication of part of the evidence on which Sinn Fein leaders have been arrested has satisfied the majority of those British newspapers whose opinions

Reuter has cabled out to India. *The Daily News*, however, says:

As regards the 1916 rebellion Government has established an unanswerable case, but evidence much more specific than mere proof of German machinations is necessary if Government's recent action is to be vindicated. If such evidence cannot be published it should at least be examined by competent and impartial judges. Parliament must insist on some such investigation.

The Daily Telegraph says that "public opinion will now demand that the ring-leaders be tried and punished without delay." *The Daily Express* says:

"They should now be tried as publicly as possible. Ireland will listen to them no more if proved guilty in open court, but half of Ireland will believe them innocent if they were kept interned without trial."

The Daily Chronicle says:

But the "communiqué" should have provided more substantial justification for recent arrests in order to satisfy Irish public opinion. Ireland is not and never has been pro-German. If it could be shown that Sinn-Fein leaders really conspired to establish German submarine bases on the Irish coast, this would produce great revulsion of feeling against Sinn Fein throughout Ireland.

The Morning Post says:

It is indeed difficult to understand why leaders of Sinn-Fein were released after the Easter rebellion. The journal proceeds to condemn the granting of Home Rule to the population largely controlled by Sinn-Feiners.

The last sentence would seem to lend some plausibility, if not justification, to the statement issued by the Irish Parliamentary party after a meeting held by them after the arrests, in which they declared that

the Government never really intended introducing and passing a Home Rule Bill containing the slightest hope of settlement. The latest developments suggested that the Government did not intend producing a bill and that their promises were simply meant to deceive the House of Commons and the public and especially the United States Government and people and the European Allies.

"The statement appeals to the United States not to be deceived by British propagandist misrepresentations of Ireland but to urge Great Britain immediately to apply to Ireland the principles of self-determination expounded by President Wilson."

Mr. Dillon, leader of the Irish Nationalist party, had, before the publication of any part of the evidence, declared the activities of the Sinn-Fein party as foolish and calculated only to do harm to Ireland, and had called for a public trial of the persons arrested. This is a just demand. Nothing but a public trial can establish the guilt of any accused person to the satisfaction of impartial and right-thinking men. The

demand of the leader of the Irish Nationalist party gains weight from a sentence in the Premier's speech at a luncheon in Edinburgh on the 25th May in which he said that "The evidence in the possession of the Government convinced him that the Irish Nationalist leaders were not cognisant of the plot."

Cloth Famine in the Country.

The very high price at which cloth is selling has caused great distress in the country. The distress will deepen as summer is followed by the rainy season, and will become very intense in winter, unless in the meantime steps are taken to alleviate it. It is usual to speak of the cloth *famine*, and to the poorer middle class and the labouring classes it is a famine, whatever the cause may be. But Government ought certainly to enquire without the least delay to what extent the high prices are due to shortage of supply and to what extent it is due to the greed and cunning of unscrupulous profiteers. Profiteering, if any, ought to be put a stop to at once. Cotton growing for local consumption ought to be encouraged; and there is no reason why Government should not put its heart into it. All zamindars and public bodies and patriotic persons should see that cotton is grown in their locality. The supply of good seeds is the first thing to be done. Owing to the difficulty of raising capital and of obtaining machinery and owing to recent legislation restricting men's liberty in investing capital, the starting of new cotton mills is at present out of the question. For this and other reasons, the indigenous spinning and weaving cottage industries require specially to be encouraged. But this, Government cannot be expected to do in a whole-hearted manner and on an adequate scale. For there is a natural inclination on the part of Englishmen, official and non-official, to keep the cloth market of India unoccupied and warm for Lancashire. The people themselves will have to put new life into these cottage industries.

So long as the war lasts and high prices rule, the products of the hand-loom may be able to compete in price with mill-made fabrics. But after the war, if mere competition is to be the determining factor the power-loom must win, unless indeed cheap power can be made available in the weavers' cottages. This is merely lay opinion. What do experts say?

When the Swadeshi movement was going strong, many people refused to use country-made goods on the ground that these were more costly than foreign fabrics, and they could not afford to buy the former. But now ordinary mill-made cloth can be had only at a price which was never demanded for country-made goods of similar quality. If we had not been shortsighted and unpatriotic in those days, thereby discouraging our weavers, the cottage weaving industry would have been in a position in these days to supply a much greater portion of our demands than it is possible for it to do at present. Shall we be shortsighted and unpatriotic again? Is it impracticable to resolve to use only country-made cloth and keep the resolve? We do not think it is. Let earnest efforts be made once again.

Nudity and Semi-nudity in Bengal.

Even in ordinary times a very large proportion of our population are obliged, on account of their poverty, to go almost naked: it is only the women, particularly the young women, not the very old women or female children, who have somehow to be supplied with a piece of cloth to cover the greater part of their bodies. But in these days even this simple want has become difficult to supply. The looting of shops and markets has been frequent for a long time past. Suicides caused by the shame of nudity are not quite rare, though all such occurrences are not reported. And even one suicide reveals a tale of woes which words cannot tell. The Bengali magazine *Prabasi* has filled many pages of its current number with selections of news from Bengali district newspapers, relating to looting and theft of cloth, suicides, &c. Many men have taken to stripping helpless women naked, and running away with their cloths. We give a few of the news, translated from *Prabasi*. The newspaper *Darshak* writes:

In the village of Jainagar, when a Musalman woman was cooking rice for her children, her son-in-law appeared. She had on her person only some rags sewn together; so when, in shame, she attempted quickly to run away from before her son-in-law, this patched-up apology for a garment slipped from her body. At this the son-in-law became so ashamed that he immediately left the house to buy a cloth for his mother-in-law. But the mother-in-law had felt so deeply ashamed at having suddenly got naked before her son-in-law, that as soon as he left the house she committed suicide by hanging herself.

The Nayak writes :

Bagmati news informs us that two women were going to Janai (Shirajganj). On the way a man attacked them, and stripping them naked, ran away with their cloths. To cover their shame the two women ran towards a neighbouring bush to hide there. A gentleman who was riding along seeing the two women behind some shrubs came on enquiry to learn the cause of their hiding. He alighted from his horse, and putting on his scarf (*chadar*), and tearing his *dhoti* into two pieces, gave them to the women. That the man who had robbed the women was in sore need of cloth was clear from the fact that he did no other injury to them.

The Khulna-basi reports :—

Last Thursday two fishwives were going along the Sudder District Board Road at about 4 p.m. to sell fish at Dhabdhabar hat (fair). All of a sudden a man forcibly stripped them naked and ran away with their *saris*. In their confusion the women left their fish baskets on the road and hid themselves in a bush by the road-side. A short while after a man seeing two baskets full of fish on the road without any owner paused for some time to find out the reason; whereupon one of the women piteously cried out to him from the bush and told him the reason. He tore his *chadar* into two pieces and gave these to them to cover their shame.

The Bhanga (Faridpur) correspondent of the Basumati writes :

Very early in the morning of the 2nd of Chaitra last a Musalman woman came to a cloth shop at Bhanga from a neighboring village. She was about 20. The tattered cloth she had on was unfit for use; but she had managed somehow to cover herself with it. When the salesmen of the shop awoke from sleep and went outside, she entered and took her seat. On coming in, the men asked, "What do you want?" She said, "Cloth." Then one man asked, "Where is your money?" She said, "I have no money." Thereupon she was told, "How then can we give you cloth?" On this the woman said, "Where shall I get money? This morning my husband has disappeared after giving me the tattered cloth I wear." With this she brought out a sharp knife and said, "If you do not give me a cloth, I will immediately kill myself with this." The men then gave her a *sari*.

From Sripur (Khulna) a correspondent writes to the Bangabasi :

A few days ago the wife of a local gentleman went in the evening to draw water from a pond. When she was returning with the vessel of water on her waist, a man suddenly came up from behind and stripping her ran away with the *sari*.

A Barisal correspondent of the Moham-madi writes :

A man named Nur Bukhsh of village Keoradagi in mahkuma Bhola, kept himself confined within his hut for the last ten or twelve days, because he had no cloth to wear and appear outside in. Next day it was found that his lifeless naked body was hanging from the branch of a neighboring tree;—he had committed suicide.

The Pabna-Boara-Hitgishi writes :—

Babu Sambhuuath Das writes to us from Lak-

shmipur-Saukharipara (Pabna District) that a few days ago two women, wearing new cloth, were going through Madhupur village to bring medicine from Ataikula village. On the way a rascal stripped them and ran away with their *saris*. The women covered their shame by getting cloth from a house near by.

Dr. Baikuntha Chandra Banerji writes to the same paper :—

I have seen with my own eyes that beggar women are starving because for want of cloth they cannot go out to beg. Hindu women (in Bengal) who have their husbands living will not for their lives wear any cloth which is without coloured borders. But in these hard times many such women are wearing their husbands' unbordered cloths, the husbands wearing only *gamchhas* (bathing towels),—one cloth thus doing duty for both man and wife. Many village boys have been obliged to leave going to school. They are spending their time at home in great trouble of mind wearing a piece of cloth three inches broad and one cubit long, to cover only their private parts. These boys cannot even play with their class fellows for very shame.

The Suraj contains the following item :

A woman was trudging along the road at some distance from the Mahishakhola railway station in Pabna district, in a semi-naked condition. On the way she met another woman wearing a new *sari*. The latter sympathetically observed to the ragged woman, "Mother, I also was in your condition, but by God's mercy I have got a new cloth." The former saying, "Let me see what sort of cloth it is", forcibly pulled it away from the latter's body, and, leaving her own rags on the ground, put it on and ran away. The naked woman hid herself in a bush hard by and began to cry aloud. The assembled crowd gave chase to the other woman, but the Zamindar's Tahsildar told them to desist, and procured for the woman who had been robbed a piece of old cloth from a gentleman's house in a village close to the place.

The following has appeared in the Bengalee :

(From a Correspondent.)

Ullapara (Pabna), May 20.

A young Mahomedan cultivator of the village Rakhalgacha in the jurisdiction of Ullapara Police Station, in the district of Pabna, has committed suicide. It is revealed in the investigation held by the police into the cause of his death that the deceased could not supply his wife with a cloth which she badly needed. The investigating Sub-Inspector, Babu Bibhuti Mohan Bose, out of compassion, paid to the wretched widow one rupee which he then had with him to help her in purchasing a cloth.

The work immediately before Bengal is to provide the most destitute with cloth; cotton growing and the encouragement of the handicrafts of spinning and weaving can benefit the poor only after some time has passed. Whoever can individually help ought certainly to render all the help he can. But in every district and sub-district there should be committees for raising subscriptions and supplying cloth. Some

public bodies have balances in their hands of funds raised for helping people rendered destitute by flood or famine. These balances will enable these bodies to start work at once.

It has sometimes been complained that educated women in Bengal have few opportunities for social service. Here is an opportunity.

Mr. M. K. Gandhi and "Ahimsa".

"Ahimsa" means, literally, the absence of the desire to kill. It is a religious principle which teaches men not to kill. Mr. M. K. Gandhi is known to be a thorough-going *ahimsa*-ist. But it has been reported in the *Bankipore Express* of May 26, 1918, that in the course of a lecture delivered in Patna City on the 24th May, he said :

"One of the characteristics of the British race was that they respected and could live on terms of equality with only those who know how to die and kill. Cats could not be friends of mice....."

Again :

"In the first place then they must learn how to die ; but if they could not do that they should learn to die while killing."

What is suggested in the first extract and what is enjoined in the second, may or may not be right ; we are not concerned with that. What we ask is, are the suggestion and the exhortation consistent with the preaching of *ahimsa* and soul-force ?

State of Health of Babu Jyotish Chandra Ghosh.

A medical board has considered the case of state prisoner Babu Jyotish Chandra Ghosh. Three of the members belong to the I. M. S., the fourth member being Dr. Mrigendralal Mitra, M. D., F.R.C.S., one of the leading medical men of Calcutta, chosen by the prisoner's mother. The board were unanimous that the prisoner was now insane and suffering from melancholic stupor. Dr. Mrigendralal Mitra has submitted a separate report, in the course of which he says :—

The theory that he 'had started' by malingering and he had just gone beyond the border line is one which is untenable according to the ideas of modern Psychiatry. It is quite possible, in the early stage, specially if the gaoler happens to be a layman, to attribute the symptoms to malingering. But, in the present instance, the prisoner has always been under charge of members of the Indian Medical Service, one of whom at least is a provincial specialist in mental disease.

Dr. Mitra proceeds to observe that "Persons in detention and under-trial prisoners occasionally develop a psychosis known as acute prison psychosis."

Just as real hunger-strike is a part of the stuporous condition and has nothing of the conscious deliberation therein, malingering, even if present, has been considered and insisted upon by recent authorities as a part of the psychosis. Malingering is a form of pathological lying (*pseudologia fantasia*) brought on by individuals by 'stressful' situations. Pure malingering has been found to be very infrequent. Wilmanns cites two cases in a list of 277, and even then, he was doubtful about the diagnosis. Bonhoeffer in a study of 221 cases of insane criminals found 0.5 per cent of malingering. In fact malingering is rare ; and what is more to our purpose, increasing consensus of opinion among psychiatrists and criminologists regards malingering *per se* as a morbid phenomena, as an abortive attempt at adjustment by an individual who is quite incapable of adequately coping with particularly 'stressful' situations.

As regards treatment, Dr. Mitra gives the opinion :

I am distinctly of opinion that Jyotish Chandra Ghose's present condition is one of prison psychosis which has developed into stuporous melancholia. It is extremely doubtful whether external stimulus will have any effect on him at this stage, but, still an attempt should be made to change his environment of detention and place him in a condition where familiar stimuli may act and where he may feel that he is no longer under any restraint. Such a change may awaken his consciousness through 'metabolic' reflexes.

Rigorous Imprisonment for Giving and Taking Food.

One of the detenus in Char Lawrence had no arrangements for preparing food and had almost gone without food for some days. Another detenu feeling compassion invited him and gave him food. For this offence, both have been sentenced to three month's rigorous imprisonment. The evidence shows that the police officer in charge could be said to have almost prepared the situation and knew what was going to happen, but did not prevent the host and the guest from doing what they did. At the worst, the offence was a technical one, committed under stress of hunger by one man and out of humane considerations by the other. The sentence is therefore disproportionately severe and is, in fact, cruel. The other detenus at Char Lawrence having left that place in a body without permission, they were also prosecuted and sentenced to varying terms of imprisonment with hard labour. The evidence showed that it was

not possible to live in the Char observing the police regulations. There were irregularities in the trial, one being the seizing by the police of the prisoners' instructions to their counsel! This is not justice.

Cases of Kidnapping and Abduction.

Cases of abduction and kidnapping are getting very frequent in Calcutta and the mofussil. The girls or women are abducted or kidnapped for immoral purposes. One of the methods adopted by the kidnappers is to represent to the girl that her father or mother or other near and dear relative is seriously ill and wants to see her, and these pseudo-friends would take her to her relative. This trick would not succeed at all, or would succeed less frequently if our girls and women were educated. They would then expect a letter, telling them of the illness. Even after abduction, they would, if educated, be sure to find some means of informing some relative or friend of their miserable condition, and could thus be more easily rescued than now. This is one of the thousand reasons why women ought to be educated. The total or comparative seclusion in which, on account of the custom of the country, women are obliged to live, deprive them of all presence of mind and courage when they find themselves in a strange place and among unfriendly persons and in unfamiliar surroundings. Women used to move about freely would not be quite at sea in this way when abducted.

One of the most painful and disgraceful facts, and one which makes us ashamed of Bengali society, is that when a girl or woman is kidnapped or abducted against her will, her relatives, even when convinced of her innocence, generally discard her for fear of social ostracism. This is cowardly, inhuman and unrighteous. It is not in accordance with Shastric injunctions. What heightens our shame and indignation is that the brutes, generally well-to-do and even "educated", for whose pleasure women are stolen, though known to be scoundrels, are well received in society, whilst their victims either commit suicide or are compelled to lead a life of shame; sometimes a few fortunately find shelter in some "home," generally one maintained by Christians.

In a recent case, the abducting women, who, we are glad to say, have obtained

their deserts, once belonged to a very respectable family. One was the wife (now a widow) and the other a daughter of perhaps the most prominent disciple of a well-known religious revivalist. These women had fallen from virtue and had been plying the trade of procuresses. Their house in Calcutta was frequented by many fashionable lawyers and others. The husband and father of mother and daughter owned a large book-shop, had founded a school, was an author, and had left a moderate fortune for the family. The fall of these women was not due to poverty.

The great disproportion in the numbers of men and women in Calcutta, the absence of family life for thousands upon thousands of both men and women, and other circumstances, have combined to make Calcutta a sink of vice. But the evil exists in small towns also. Its eradication is one of the most serious of problems.

Votes for Women and War.

In this note we do not speak of this or any other particular war, but of war in general.

War causes the greatest misery to women. Not only are many of them widowed, orphaned, deprived of son or brother or other dear one, but the lives of many are shattered by the greatest tragedy that can come to women. They become the victims of the cowardly and brutal lust of beasts in human form. This happens in all wars. Take an example. In an appeal for funds for Polish relief signed by Paderewski and Ex-President Taft, the following description of conditions in Poland is given (we quote only a portion):—

"More than 100,000 young girls of Poland have had their lives shattered by the greatest tragedy that can come to a woman. Victims of the conquering and retiring armies that have incessantly swept over Poland since the beginning of the war, these unfortunate young mothers, whose babies have died for want of food, clothing, and shelter, find themselves outcasts—helpless, alone, having known of maternity nothing but the sorrow." Quoted in "The Choice Before Us" by G. L. Dickinson, p. 26.

While some armies are more brutal than others, the treatment of women by no conquering or retreating army can be generally said to be angelic or chivalrous.

Another horrible and loathesome accompaniment of war which is a mark of the degradation of woman is the open brothel. *The Nation* of London (March 9, 1918) quotes the following from "The Shield" of last December:

"The war has brought two new evils: the habituating of thousands of young men who otherwise would have been in good surroundings to the lowest forms of momentary sexual indulgence; and the recourse to prostitution by thousands of married men of all classes who are away from their families."

and observes:

"We do not doubt that the same two evils are found in all countries engaged in this war, as they have been found in every war. They are but two out of the hideous variety of evils inseparable from all war, but in themselves they are enough to throw a heavy load on any soldier or politician who seeks to prolong this or any other war for one day beyond its possible limitation."

It may be presumed that in whatever country women obtain the franchise, they will use it to put an end to their degradation by drink and vice. In the United States women have helped to prevent the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors in many states by legislation. Enfranchised women will undoubtedly try their best to make war less frequent in future and ultimately remove from the earth this relic of savagery. This is one of the reasons why we are in favour of women obtaining political power.

How Government Spends Our Money.

The "Statist," says *India*, completes a survey of the financial position in India, as revealed by the Budget figures, as follows:

The only provision made for education is disgracefully insufficient. India is doing well at present, and the opportunity ought to be taken to raise the intelligence of the people. We regret very much that little more than £400,000 is allocated to irrigation, and that the expenditure on railways will not reach 4½ millions sterling. The great needs of India are, first, education; second, sanitation; third, irrigation; and fourth, railway construction. And the Government, even at a time like the present, is so niggardly that it contents itself with an increase of £200,000 per annum for primary education. . . . It is lamentable. But we hope that, as public opinion gains more and more influence in the councils of the Government, this kind of parsimonious management will be dropped. We note with satisfaction—and it reflects more seriously upon the remissness of the Indian Government—that the long series of good monsoons. . . . have undoubtedly stimulated enterprise. . . . If we could only stimulate the Indian Government to help the people, what a blessing it would be.

Lord Ronaldshay's Three Reasons.

At the Bengal War Conference which met at Government House, Calcutta, on May 2, Lord Ronaldshay gave three reasons "why a continuance of political agitation at the present moment is likely to be gravely injurious not only to the

cause of the British Empire with which the cause of India is inseparably bound up, but also to the cause of political reform in India itself." His first reason was:

We have always been slow as a people, as in Great Britain and India, to realise how closely the enemy keeps his eye upon us, how quick he is to note our actions, indeed our very words, and what a difference it makes to his own morale whether he sees arrayed against him the serried ranks of a united people or whether he detects or thinks he detects in this part of the Empire or in that some note of dissension, some indication of lack of unity of purpose (hear, hear and applause). I do not think you have ever sufficiently realised what the moral effect upon the people of the German Empire or what, shall I say, upon the Government of the German Empire,—for the people of the German Empire are not allowed to know much, it is not considered good for them,—we have seldom realised sufficiently what a moral effect it has upon the Government of the German Empire to know that until the menace with which they are threatening the world is finally put under, the whole of the people, the vast people, of the British Empire, will throw all differences, all internal disputes aside until victory has been finally achieved.

It is not our purpose to examine the soundness or unsoundness of this "first reason." What we say is that it must hold good in the United Kingdom as well as in India,—in fact, more so in the former than in the latter, as Great Britain and Ireland are the principal partners of the British Empire. But we find that Sir Edward Carson, a statesman of cabinet rank, has been mustering his forces to resist the granting of Home Rule to Ireland, and the Irish Nationalist Party with Mr. Dillon at their head have not ceased to trouble the British Government. In Great Britain itself neither political controversy nor controversy of any other kind has ever been at a standstill during the war. Bills of various kinds have become law after full discussion. General Maurice's letter gave rise to a heated controversy which might have resulted in Mr. Lloyd George and his colleagues going out of power. Pacifists have not been gagged, nor the labouring classes. Some people have openly declared themselves in favour of negotiating for peace with Germany even at this stage. The recent Man Power Bill gave rise to a heated discussion, and, though passed, it has not been and will not be enforced in Ireland, because of Irish opposition. There is every likelihood of there being a general election next autumn, with the usual display of party feeling. If all these notes of dissension, these internal disputes, and indications of

a lack of unity of purpose at the seat of the Empire have not encouraged Germany, the very ineffective and mild agitation which we have intermittently carried on is not likely to encourage her. Besides, our agitation has for its main object the obtaining of self-government. Indian political bodies and political agitators have all declared themselves unanimously in favour of prosecuting the war with vigour. In Canada, Quebec has been actively against conscription. Has that encouraged Germany very much? In any case, before our words of whispering humbleness are sought to be silenced, would it not have been proper to still the lion's roars in Great Britain and Ireland and Canada? Or, rather, we ought to say, if the mouths of any section of the white self-governing peoples of the Empire are sought to be stopped, the means adopted is to give them what they want. In India that is not the way of the bureaucrat. He only threatens or sermonises, and will not or has not the power to make even a definite promise to give us even a part of what we want.

His Excellency's second reason was :

Nobody at this time of day can have any doubt as to what the objects of the German Empire are. This war is not a dispute between Germany and Austria on the one hand and France and Great Britain on the other. It is a far greater thing than that. It is a war in which the foundations of civilization are themselves at stake and that being so this war is as much a vital matter for India as it is for Great Britain or of France or America or Italy or Japan or any other great country. Let me suggest to your minds a possibility. If the Kaiser came to Calcutta what would all the talk of freedom of the individual, of the liberty of the subject, of the right of this people or that people to self-determination, of this constitutional reform or that constitutional reform,—what would be the value of all such talk if the Kaiser came to Calcutta? Well, I need not enlarge upon that. I think everybody realises that Germany is out for imposing by force her iron will upon the other people of the world and if anybody has any doubt as to what the character of German rule is likely to be let him turn his eye to the German colonies in Africa, let him turn his eye to Russia at the present time, let him turn his eye to any territory of which Germany is now in occupation and there will be very little room left for doubt in his mind as to what German dominion in India would be.

Our comments on this second reason will require a brief preface. It is freedom which Indians desire, not a change of masters. Different Indian political parties want varying degrees or extents of freedom according to their temperament, information, political experience, &c.; but

no party wants merely to have new masters. The vast majority want to remain within the British Empire with India as an equal partner. Even if the Germans, instead of being uncivilized, cruel and domineering, had been more civilized, tender-hearted, and fond of fraternising with subject races than even the British people are known all over the world to be, we should not have desired a change of masters. For great oppression is at first inevitable in newly occupied territories. There was such oppression when the East India Company gradually became masters of this country.

Now for the reason.

People who have most, have most reason to be afraid of robbers. People who are most free have reason to be most afraid of the Teutonic robbers of freedom. We are afraid of a German invasion. But our fear is somewhat different from the fear of the English people when they apprehend a German invasion of England, because we are not a free people, not at least as free as the British people, being far less free. We are afraid of inhuman oppression, but we do not apprehend loss of independence or freedom, because nobody fears to lose that which he does not possess. We have some freedom, but it is far far less than that of Englishmen; and, of course, we are afraid of losing the little we have. That is the extent of our fear so far as liberty is concerned. Had we been free, or had we enjoyed even for a few years previous to the war the qualified Home Rule we want, our fears would have been much greater than they are.

As for the German people imposing their iron will upon other peoples, we are afraid of that, too. But here, too, our fear is somewhat different from that of the English. In England it is the will of the English people, or, at the worst, the will of a section of the English people, which prevails. In India, it is not the will of the Indian people which prevails, but it is the will of some British persons which prevails. Their will may be of gold or silver or brass or silk, unlike the iron will of Germany; but still it is not the will of the people of India.

As for the probability of the Kaiser coming to Calcutta, the map of the world shows that the Kaiser is not nearer to Calcutta than to London, and as questions have been asked in Parliament regarding

preparations against a German invasion of England, the thing is probably not considered impossible in England. In fact, places in England have been bombarded by sea and air, which has not yet been the case with India; and if the Kaiser takes a mad and probably fatal fancy to fly over London, he may do so in a Gotha any day. All this shows that the black shadow of the Kaiser is not a greater menace to India than to Britain. But still the people of the United Kingdom have been throughout the war up to the present hour talking of freedom of the individual and of the liberty of the subject (particularly as affected by DORA), of the right of this people or that people (particularly of the Irish people and of Ulster) to self-determination, and of this constitutional reform or that constitutional reform (*Cf.* the constitutional reforms effected by the latest and greatest Reform Act, passed this year, giving votes to 6,000,000 women, and 2,000,000 other persons including marines and soldiers, creating new boroughs and giving the franchise to the new universities, and *cf.* also the impending constitutional reforms in Ireland). All this has not stood in the way of the vigorous prosecution of the war. India has known bloody invasions by Huns and others. Instead of trying to frighten us with the bogey of the Kaiser, Lord Ronaldshay might have encouraged us to emulate the example of the brave race to which he belongs, and who are, in spite of the existence of a Kaiser, courageously going on with their work, formulating and discussing even *after-war* schemes, as we have shown in this and previous issues.

His Excellency the Governor of Bengal introduced and stated his third reason in the following words:—

Now there is only one more reason which I would put before you as dispassionately as I can, for I have no desire to say one word that is calculated to excite or to embitter controversy, but I do throw this out for your consideration. The British people have a temper of their own. Some people call them a stubborn and a stiff-necked race. They are I believe a fair and a just people. You can without difficulty reason with them, you can without difficulty excite their interest, excite their sympathy and above all you can excite their gratitude. But they are a people, believe me, who resent perhaps more deeply than any other people on this earth any suspicion that anybody is bent upon making any attempt to take advantage of them when their backs are against the wall. (Applause). I don't say for one moment that the people of this country have any such intention and any such desire, but I do suggest that it would be

unwise by any thoughtless word at the present time to give ground to the people of Great Britain for harbouring any suspicion of that kind.

We shall humbly follow his lordship's example and shall not excite or embitter a controversy over his description of the character of the British people. Nor shall we say anything regarding the talk of anybody trying to exploit England's difficulty, as we have already said much on the subject in our last number.

It is not merely British nature but it is the nature of all men to "resent" "the suspicion that anybody is bent upon making any attempt to take advantage of them when their backs are against the wall." But it would seem to be also human nature as well as British nature that this resentment is boastfully talked of or finds expression when the "other party" is a weak party. For example, no British statesman has spoken to the Irish Nationalists and their friends President Wilson and the American people in the way that Lord Ronaldshay has spoken to us; nor has any British statesman described to the working classes, particularly when they threatened to strike or actually struck, the stubborn and stiff-necked and resentful nature of the ruling classes of Great Britain.

Lord Ronaldshay probably knows that it is the logic of facts or world forces or the fact of the beggars being troublesome and sturdy beggars which induce in privileged classes all over the world the disposition to be yielding, not any peculiar and innate generous traits in their character.

The British are undoubtedly a stubborn and stiff-necked race. But they have a modicum of good sense, too. They know when to yield. During the last debate on the Indian Cotton Duties in the House of Commons Mr. Bonar Law said:

"This was the position in which they were placed. They knew there would be some trouble in Lancashire, though they did not anticipate it would be so great. But what they had to decide from the point of view of the war was whether there was likely to be more trouble at home or in India. That was the question, and it was on that basis that they gave their vote." (Mr. Dillon: "Where there is most trouble you give in?") "That is another way of putting it (Laughter). Whatever did give trouble politically was a thing which, if it could be avoided, ought to be avoided."

We are aware, of course, that Mr. Law's words were not meant for Indian ears, nor is his maxim meant for use in India.

The question, "If the Kaiser came to Calcutta,—?" is certainly calculated to make us pause and reflect. But if he really came, it might be slightly inconvenient to the present rulers of India, too. So they should not talk as if we were to be the only losing party.

Silence and Prosecution of the War.

Though Government have not passed any law putting a stop to the discussion of public questions and the ventilation of public grievances and aspirations in the press and on the platform, it is clear from what the official hierarchy have occasionally said that they think that if the press and public speakers could be silenced, that would greatly help the vigorous prosecution of the war. The vigorous prosecution of the war implies the obtaining of numerous recruits for the army, of large contributions to the various war funds, and of big subscriptions to the war loan. As no newspaper and no public speaker have written or spoken against recruiting, and contributing to war funds, &c., but, on the contrary, the press and the platform have been full of exhortations to help in the prosecution of the war, we are unable to understand how silence can be more helpful. It may be said that what we say and write on any other topic than the war, prevents the attention of the public from being concentrated on the war. But here a difficulty presents itself. The British community in India, official and non-official, have always professed to believe that the agitators in the press and on the platform are a small fraction of that microscopic minority called educated Indians, who in their turn do not represent the people of India, do not know their views and wants, and have no influence over them. How is it then possible that what such a small, uninfluential and insignificant class write and say should distract the attention of the vast population of India from the one thing needful?

However, if silence on our part can produce the wonderful effect which, it seems to be believed, it can produce, the experiment of silencing the press and public speakers is undoubtedly worth trying.

Objectors may say that the United Kingdom and all the self-governing parts of the British Empire have throughout the war remained as vocal as ever, and yet

recruits have flowed steadily into the army and the white soldiers of the Empire have fought with the greatest heroism; what then is the harm in India also remaining vocal? But these objectors do not know that India is India, and what holds good in any other part of the world does not hold good here.

A Rumour about Presidency College.

It is said an attempt is being made to have the Presidency College, Calcutta, made over to private individuals, to make it a private institution. The educated public of Bengal can understand what that means. Circumstanced as the country is, though private institutions have a great part to play, which for want of funds and freedom they cannot at present play, State colleges also are still greatly needed. No private or aided college can command the resources which a State college like the Presidency College can command. It ought to remain a State College in a very efficient condition as a model to excite the emulation of other colleges. High education cannot be made self-supporting if there is to be any striving after the ideal. And the ideal of education requires that the teacher should be free to teach in the way he thinks best. Private colleges depend for their existence on showing a high percentage of passes, often obtained by cramming. State colleges are under no such necessity, and can more freely follow ideal methods. The scheme of post-graduate studies introduced by the University has already robbed the Presidency College of its former distinction and independence; if the attempts that we have heard of succeed, Bengal will lose the only State college which could have been made a model institution. How much the ideal of teaching requires to be insisted upon will appear from the fact that even in the university post-graduate classes teaching has in many cases degenerated into the dictation of notes.

If any change be really contemplated, Bengal certainly has the right to know definitely what the schemers have in view and discuss it.

Conscription and the Panjab.

After the War Conference at Delhi, provincial war conferences have been held in the provincial capitals. In the Delhi Conference it was agreed upon that for the

present conscription need not be thought of. Of all the provinces it was only in the Panjab that it was resolved in the provincial conference that conscription should, if necessary, be resorted to not only in that province but all over the country. We wonder what moral right that conference had to pass such a resolution. Sir Michael O'Dwyer may be a very great ruler, but he does not represent either the Panjab or India. And the men who met together in the conference were not chosen either by the people of India or even of the Panjab, and had no mandate from the people to propose conscription on their behalf. Why then did they pose as if they were the chosen of the people? In the Panjab itself, which has given the largest number of soldiers to the Indian army, disturbances connected with recruiting give indications which ought not to be neglected.

Abuses connected with recruiting.

From other parts of the country, too, particularly Sholapur in the Bombay Presidency and parts of Madras, come detailed news of force and fraud having been used to obtain recruits. These should be thoroughly investigated, and, if untrue, contradicted in detail by Government. But if true, the offenders should be punished. It is a truism that it is spirit which more than anything else makes the fighter. Therefore, voluntarism should really be what it means. It should in no case be a mere name on the surface concealing compulsion within.

The Panjab L. G. on Home Rule and Home Defence.

Some officials are fond of uttering belated truisms as if these were their own original discoveries. Sir Michael O'Dwyer's observations on the inter-relation of Home Rule and Home Defence are not original, but he repeated them in Ambala.

"There are doubtless among you," he said, "men with political aspirations who look forward to the goal of responsible government within the British Empire. But let me remind them that the goal is only to be reached if the great bulk of the people desire to attain it and strive towards it, and prove the genuineness of their desire and their fitness for it by expressing their willingness to accept the obligations and sacrifices inseparable from it. The foremost of these, as I said at Lahore last week, is the obligation to defend our country from internal danger and external attack."

On this the *Tribune* rightly observes :

So far as this means or implies that Home Rule and Home Defence are ultimately inseparable, we are in complete agreement with His Honour. It is their consciousness of this truth that has led the party of self-government in India for years to loudly and insistently demand facilities for military training. Until recently their voice was the voice of one crying in the wilderness. Now that the justice and reasonableness of their plea has begun to be officially recognised it behoves the authorities not to speak or write as if the Home Rulers were anxious to shirk the responsibilities which Home Rule involves, and as if they [the authorities] themselves had always been anxious to give the country both Home Rule and the privilege of Home Defence.

Hungerstrikes Again.

It was reported a few days ago that some of the detenus at Char Lawrence who had been thrown into prison had begun a hungerstrike, and that the Kutubdia detenus who were to be tried for leaving the place without the permission of the authorities had also done the same in jail. Of the former no news have since transpired. The 17 Kutubdia men began their fast on the 24th May, and on the first day of their trial, they were found too weak to be brought to court. So the trial began in the jail, and they were carried to the improvised court-room there and laid on blankets on the floor. In addition to these two batches of hungerstrikers, it is now reported that the State prisoners confined without trial in the Alipore Central Jail under Regulation III of 1818 also began a hungerstrike on May 28. Men do not run the risk of death by starvation for the fun of the thing. All these detenus surely have some serious grievances.

Purchase of Freedom without Paying its Price.

The Mahratta writes :

Mr. A. Suryanarayan Murti has published a letter in the columns of *New India* stating that Lord Pentland's government prohibited the wives of the Government servants from signing the petition of Home Rule which was presented to Mr. Montagu. He quotes the order of the Madras Government which is worded as under :

"Under G. O. 91 of 1895, a Government servant is held responsible for any act done by his wife, which, if done by himself, would constitute breach of rules for the conduct of public servants."

It is pointed out that Lord Reay had permitted the wives of the Government servants to take part in political agitation. The order now quoted by the Madras Government, he says, was however intended to cover cases involving criminal misconduct on the part of their employees, and he contends rightly that the action of the Government in straining the order to cover political conduct is wrong. We are of opinion that it is not only wrong but against the accepted principles of feminine liberty so much lauded to the skies in England. The Indians are always accused

by the Anglo-Indians for fettering the liberties of their women-folk, but the action of the Madras Government, in the case noted above, surpasses the conduct of the Indians and is absolutely ungenerous.

Though Government servants lose much of their freedom, they receive a price for it. Are their wives to lose part of their freedom without receiving any price? When vegetables or grocer's stores are purchased, vendors sometimes give their customers a little more than their money's worth. This is called in Bengali *phāu* (ফাউ). Are Government servants' wives *phāus* or things thrown in? That would be a novel doctrine coming from the chivalrous West.

Education of Bengalis in Bihar and Orissa.

Of the total population (34,490,084) of the province of Bihar and Orissa, 2,186,020 are Bengali-speaking. These Bengalis, therefore, form more than 6·3 per cent. of the population,—by no means a negligible fraction. Moreover, as generally their occupations and professions are such as require a certain amount of education, they are among the most literate sections of the population, and as such they are not an insignificant class. In a large country like India, two millions may seem a small number; but let us try to have a clear idea of what that number means, by comparing it with the population of some of the Native States.

Bengalis in Bihar and Orissa	2,186,020
Baroda	2,032,798
Indore	1,004,561
Mewar (Udaipur)	1,293,776
Bikaner	700,983
Kashmir	3,158,126
Travancore	3,428,975
Cochin	918,110
Jaipur	2,636,647

We need not give more figures; suffice it to say that out of nearly 700 Native States only 6 have a larger population than the Bengali population of the new province. In the British Empire, the Federated Malay States, Hong Kong, Cyprus, New South Wales, Victoria, New Zealand, Natal, Transvaal, Orange Free State, Rhodesia, and many other colonies have smaller populations. Some independent countries have smaller or almost equal populations; e. g., Albania, Bolivia, Denmark, Tunis, Liberia, Norway, etc. If the people of these regions have any just grievances, their

rulers certainly would not consider them negligible. Hence it is not unjustifiable to press the grievances of the Bengalis domiciled in Bihar and Orissa on the attention of the governments of Bihar and Orissa, and of Bengal. For very many of these Bengalis "domiciled" is clearly a misnomer, as their ancestors settled in Bihar and Orissa long before the British occupation of these provinces, and many form the majority of the permanent and autochthonous local inhabitants, as in Manbhum.

The grievances, pointed out by the *Behar Herald*, relate to educational facilities, and as the livelihood of most domiciled Bengalis depends on literacy, to take away or narrow these facilities is a serious blow to the community. An Irishman or a Welshman or a Scotsman is not discriminated against in England as regards educational facilities; why should then the Bengalis settled in Bihar and Orissa be discriminated against? By all means give special and extra facilities to Biharis and Oriyas where needed, but why deprive Bengalis of ordinary facilities? A Bengali baby is born just as illiterate in Bihar and Orissa as a Bihari or an Oriya baby. The Bengali community may be more literate than the Bihari and Oriya communities; but that does not mean that Bengali children are born or would grow educated without education.

Let us now make some extracts from the *Behar Herald*.

We have pointed out in a previous issue how the new rules for the grant of scholarships in the Temple Medical School exclude even domiciled Bengalees from all but one of the scholarships awarded. Formerly, all the scholarships were open to them; now they can expect no more than one. And even if no Bihari students qualify for the scholarships allotted to them, the scholarships would lapse rather than go to qualified domiciled Bengalees. This is of a piece with the policy by which Bengalees not domiciled in Bihar, who are admitted to the School only when a sufficient number of local students are not available, have to pay a penal rate of fees, which it is contemplated to raise to Rs. 8 per month, the rate which was imposed by the Calcutta Medical College only two years ago. It is said that there is no reason why Government should bear so large a portion of the total expenditure in the case of outsiders as in that of local students. The logical conclusion of this proposition is that Government would prefer, in the case of Bihari students not being available, that the army of teachers and doctors employed in the Temple Medical School should lecture to the walls and empty seats of the bare class-room rather than admit outsiders to derive equal benefit out of the money that is being spent!

There are other similar grievances.

With the creation of the Patna University and the consequent restriction of admission of Bihar students to the Calcutta Medical College and the Sibpur Engineering College, Bengalee students from this Province who desire to go up for higher Medical and Engineering courses, are faced with a serious problem. Formerly they could be freely admitted to these institutions and were entitled to share in all their privileges and scholarships if they were qualified. Now that they have been excluded from the Calcutta University, they have no right to free admission, but can only be taken in as Bihar and Orissa Government nominees. What that means the bitter experience of last year has shown very clearly. Out of a total of over one hundred Bengalee applicants for admission to the Medical College as Bihar students, the Inspector General of Civil Hospitals, Bihar and Orissa, selected only two for admission. And even then, they are not eligible for any scholarships, which the Government reserves only for Bihar students, and would not grant to Bengalees even if deserving Bihar candidates are not available. It is well-known that a large number of Bengalee boys from this Province used to join the Medical College and the Engineering College at Calcutta, and that there were many meritorious but poor students who could afford to incur the expenses of education in these costly institutions only by winning scholarships. For such students, the door is now absolutely closed for higher education in Medicine and Engineering. So far as the Sibpur College is concerned, the very few Bengalee boys admitted from this Province last year had to execute an agreement by which they bound themselves not to claim any scholarship or privilege allowed to Bengal students.

Even this does not complete the tale of woes of Bengali students in the new province.

It is notorious that in the matter of admission to the Government Arts Colleges, very arbitrary selections are often made resulting in many meritorious boys being refused admission and compelled to seek admission into the Calcutta Colleges. Whether this alternative is open to them, after the creation of the Patna University, we do not know. But there are many parents who do not like to send their boys to Calcutta in consideration of the many dangers and temptations to which they may be exposed there. Their feelings may be well imagined when they are compelled to adopt a course which is repugnant to dictates of prudence and economy. And the gravest injustice of the whole thing is perpetrated when some of these boys are deprived of their well-earned scholarships because the action of the college authorities in this province drives them to institutions outside the province.

There is another matter, affecting school education, to which the *Behar Herald* draws attention.

There has been an attempt, which, we are glad to

say, has not been very successful except in certain parts, to exclude Bengali as one of the mediums of instruction in primary and secondary schools. This method of persecuting the Bengalis has nowhere been so conspicuous as in Manbhum, and particularly in the sub-division of Dhanbad where an over-zealous official has been obsessed with Bengali-phobia. Bengali, which was an optional court language, has been discarded, zemindars have been forced into giving up the practice of keeping their papers in Bengali; exorbitant and penal charges are enforced from Bengali-speaking Manbhumites wanting settlement of lands for agricultural and building purposes, while Hindustanis from no matter what part of India are allowed leases without *salami*. These excesses have several times met with rebukes from Government, but the deluded gentleman, who is just now representing the might and justice of the British Government in that part of the country, and in whose hands is placed the destinies of a million people, is going on merrily as ever in his course of racial prejudice and persecution.

Indigenous Medical Systems.

The presidential address of Sir Fazulbhoj Currimbhoy at the eighth session of the All-India Ayurvedic and Unani Tibbi Conference held at Bombay contains a summary of the work already done under the auspices of the Conference, from which we make an extract.

We have appealed to the country to support medical schools; we have emphasised the necessity of teaching anatomy and surgery in our teaching institutions; and we have insisted on the heads of these institutions to admit private candidates to their examinations and to attach to them plots of ground for the cultivation of medicinal herbs, to raise successful schools and colleges, and to establish medical schools in important centres.

Now that Lieut.-Col. Kirtikar and Major B. D. Basu's valuable work on "Indian Medicinal Plants" has been published by the Panini Office of Allahabad, medicinal plant gardens can be scientifically kept. The properties of such plants should be scientifically investigated. We are glad to be informed that the Conference has a programme of research, which was thus outlined in Sir Fazulbhoj's address:

Steps are also being taken to establish an Anti-tuberculosis League, to set on foot inquiries about the physical deterioration of our rising generations, to incorporate new discoveries of Western medical science in the books prescribed for students, to investigate the properties of herbs and other vegetables and mineral products, to trace the etiology of plague, and to enact a law for the prevention of juvenile smoking.